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*Population Growth, Land Pressure and Development of
Cash Crops in a Nepali Village¹*

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CNAS/TU

Introduction

Much socio-economic and demographic research conducted in Nepal, based on both micro and macro-level data, basically focuses on the negative impact of population growth and the deteriorating resource situation (particularly land) in the country (see Caplan 1970; Macfarlane 1976; Shrestha and Jain 1978; Poffenberger 1980; HMG/MCH 1980; Blakie et. al 1980). Similarly, a lot has been written about crops grown in permanently cultivated fields, as well as various aspects of agricultural development in Nepal, such as introduction of horticulture, and use of improved seed varieties (see Amartya 1975; Rockefeller Foundation 1976; HMG 1981), but no researchers have paid any serious attention to why and how Nepalese farmers utilize their marginal lands (i.e. steeply-sloped, boulder-filled waste-land or swamp-land) to grow subsistence or cash crops. Marginal lands can provide good yields if properly taken care of (Plucknett et. al 1982). A modest increase in crop yields in these areas can greatly alleviate food shortages.

This paper is an attempt to explain why cash crops like big cardamon (*Amomum subulatum*)² have been introduced in waste or marginal land in a village in Eastern Nepal. Big cardamon is a sub-tropical, exclusively cash crop for Nepalese farmers. It is normally used as a spice or as a flavoring agent for sweets, coffee and tea and also as medicines in many parts of the world (see Subedi 1979).

My discussion in this paper is organized within the framework of Boserup's (1965) and Brookfield's (1972) pioneering population-based theories of agricultural intensification. According to Boserup, agricultural techniques respond adaptively to population pressure, and thus population growth is the positive force stimulating changes in the productive methods of the community. She brings materials from India, China, Africa and Latin America to support her arguments. Brookfield, citing material from the Pacific area, argues that intensification of agriculture is caused by such factors as markets, social production, and other forces in addition to population pressure. As heuristic devices, both theories help to explain the pressure of population on resources, particularly the utilization of land in agrarian societies like Nepal. Considering both theories, I show that though population pressure is clearly observable at the local level, farmers still have not taken the "risk" of growing big cardamon in their permanently cultivated fields. Finally, I argue that

population growth as well as favorable markets are the primary factors leading farmers to cultivate big cardamon in their marginal lands, and both theories are complementary to each other.

Ethnographic Setting

In recent years, some Nepalese farmers have seriously utilized not only their permanently cultivated fields but also their marginal lands to grow cash crops. Ilam, a hill district in Eastern Nepal, provides an example in which cash crops are grown in both good as well as in marginal lands. In Ilam District, three major cash crops are grown: potatoes, tea and big cardamon. Potatoes are always grown in the permanently cultivated good land; similarly tea growing is done in relatively good land, where other staple crops can be easily grown. By contrast, big cardamon is grown on marginal land, where no other crops can grow.

Tea growing in Ilam District is not an individual enterprise; it is organized at the corporation level and caters to both the domestic and international market. Potato farming, though normally practised by the individual farmer, is also cultivated in at least one place in Ilam District through government administration (Jaubari in Ilam District, aided by the Indian Government). Potatoes are grown for both consumption and sale, though its markets are local. Big cardamon, on the other hand, is grown entirely by individual farmers, is exclusively a cash crop, and has only an international market. Therefore, it is an ideal crop to analyse from the perspective of individual choice and decision-making as influenced by population growth and market factors.

Barbote Panchayat, the field area of my article, lies in Ilam District of Eastern Nepal. The total area of Barbote Panchayat is about eight square miles. Most of the settlements are located 1-4 miles away from Ilam bazaar, the headquarters of Ilam District. The settlements are dispersed at various altitudes ranging from 3,000 to 5,800 feet above sea level. Barbote Panchayat was recently linked by a motorable road to Ilam bazaar. There are 14 ethnic groups living in this panchayat. The total population and number of households based on three major ethnic communities in 1964 and 1981 are given below.

Table 1

Households and Population in Barbote Panchayat by Ethnicity

	1964-1981				1981			
	1964							
	Total Households	%	Pop.	%	Total Households	%	Pop.	%
High caste Hindus ³	260	51.58	1539	53.88	302	51.09	1881	52.52
Matwalis ⁴	202	40.08	1093	38.27	240	40.61	1426	39.82
Untouchables ⁵	42	8.34	224	7.85	49	8.30	274	7.66
Total:	504	100.00	2856	100.00	591	100.00	3581	100.00

The above data show that the population in Barbote Panchayat is growing at the rate of about 2 per cent per annum. At this growth rate the population will double by 2015 A.D.

The cultivable land area in Barbote Panchayat has also increased over time along with population growth. However, prior to 1971 no exact land measurements, except for irrigated lands, were available in the hilly regions of Nepal. Therefore only the total area of irrigated land is given here to establish comparisons over time. Three land surveys have been conducted to date in Ilam District: the 1912, 1936 and 1971 land surveys and their records are available in the Mal (Treasury) Office, Ilam. To provide uniform units of land measurement, I have used the *ropani* (1 *ropani* = 0.051 hectare) to calculate the total land area.⁶ Irrigated land areas in Barbote Panchayat over time were approximately as follows.

Table 2

Irrigated Land Area in Barbote Panchayat, 1912-1971⁷

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Irrigated Land (in ropanis)</u>
1912	1334
1936	2837
1971	8708

In other words, the area of irrigated land increased 112. % in the 24 years between 1912-36 or 4.70% per year. Between 1936-1971, the increase was 206.94% per year. That translates into 167 additional *ropanis* of land put into irrigation each year.

There are a number of reasons for the increase of cultivated land in Barbote Panchayat. Bajracharya (1981) shows that the major cause of deforestation is the opening of new areas for food production, even in the hilly regions. While this may be the case elsewhere, such a chain of events does not accurately describe the increased land area in Barbote panchayat. Forest areas as defined by the Forestry Department, HMG, remain intact, even though many trees from these areas have been cut down (Personal Communication, Sarad Kumar Rai, District Forest Officer, Ilam District). It is likely, though, that occasional cutting of trees has always taken place in the river basin areas in unused and unowned lands (locally known as *Jagar-bagar*).

The other most likely reason is as follows: Prior to absorption of Ilam District into Nepal, there were mostly Limbu settlements in Ilam District. When Ilam District was merged into Nepal in 1774, King Prithivinarayan Shah gave a measure of internal rule and guaranteed the land rights of the Limbus in the name of *Kipat*.⁸ In the government record, *Kipat* included only the irrigated lands and the Limbu households where they inhabited. In reality, *kipat* included all cultivated lands,

plus uncultivated forests, streams and rivers within the boundaries. In the earlier period, when there was virtually no pressure on land, the Limbus used the best land (both irrigated and unirrigated) and left the marginal land fallow. In Ilam District, for example, in 1964-65, 39.7 per cent of the total irrigated land was part of the *kipat* system (Caplan 1970). This means that the Limbus, who comprise only 9.16 per cent of the population of Ilam District (1971 census) had access to 39.7 per cent of the irrigated land. Similarly, more than 90% of the irrigated lands of Barbote Panchayat were part of the *kipat* system as of 1968. But as this area was slowly penetrated by the immigrant Hindu groups (Caplan 1970), pressure on the land increased. In both Ilam District as well in Barbote Panchayat, the population growth rate was about 2 per annum in the past two decades. So, over time all of the more fertile areas was put under cultivation, and any subsequent increase in farming had to come from the poorer marginal land.

As pressure on the land grew, local farmers responded to increased pressure on land by adopting alternative agricultural strategies. One of their responses was the utilization of marginal land for producing cash crops like big cardamon.

Big Cardamon

Big cardamon looks like the ginger or turmeric plants and grows to five or six feet. It is not cultivated in lower altitudes (below 2,000 feet) because of the danger of water-logging. Normally, northfacing fields and gentler slopes are good for cardamon since it should not be directly exposed to strong sunlight. It is well suited to moist and shaded areas. Uttis (*Alnus Nepalensis*) and Siris (*Albizia labbek*) are considered not only good shade trees for big cardamon but as they are a deciduous species, their leaves provide natural compost for the cardamon plant.

The plant can be harvested in three to four years depending upon the planting period. If cardamon is planted in June (Jestha) it may be harvested in three years, but if it is planted in August (Bhadra), it takes four years to mature. Once planted, it can be harvested for 15-20 years if properly looked after.

Cultivation of Big Cardamon in Barbote Panchayat

Though the history of big cardamon farming in Nepal goes back as far as 1868-69 (see Ojha 1980), it was not an important crop until 1964. Today, there are 8-10 districts in Nepal which grow and produce cardamon. Ilam was the first district to grow cardamon in Nepal, and in 1974-75 produced 470m. ton of cardamon, 62 per cent of the total cardamon production in Nepal (Trade Promotion Centre 1974-75).

Big cardamon is grown in most of the villages in Ilam District today, including the villages of Barbote Panchayat, whose farmers are also making serious efforts to grow big cardamon. It is a newly adopted cash crop in comparison to other crops in the area. Informants point

out that some patches of big cardamon were observed as early as 5-6 decades ago, but serious cultivation started sometime in 1965-70 and expanded rapidly in the area after 1975. Today, local farmers are trying to grow big cardamon in all those lands which are just marginally suitable for cultivation.

Official records of total land cultivated for big cardamon are not available. In my 100 sample households in Barbote Panchayat, only 32 households grow big cardamon in nearly 76 *ropanis* (approximately four hectares) of their marginal lands. Such waste land constitutes about 1.25 per cent of the total land area owned by these sample households. In Barbote Panchayat, perhaps 50-60 households (from the 100 household sample) own marginal lands for growing big cardamon, but many have not started growing it yet. Even those farmers who have already utilized their marginal land to grow cardamon have yet to expand their cultivated areas to the maximum.

The production in these areas was approximately 33.95 maunds (1358 kilograms) in 1980. When this production was sold, it yielded an income of nearly 28,857 rupees (when I was in the field, the price was rupees 850.00 per maund). If this amount were distributed equally over 32 households, each household would receive about 902.00 rupees per annum, good money as supplemental income by Nepalese standards.

In comparison to other staple crops, this income is significantly higher per *ropani*. For example, a *ropani* of dry but relatively good land in this area yields only about $\frac{1}{2}$ *muri* (31.6 kilograms) of maize. Irrigated land yields about a *muri* or a little more. A half *muri* of maize brings 70-80 rupees while a *muri* of paddy can bring 120 to 130 rupees depending on the season of the year. The average yield of cardamon in the area is about 15-20 kilograms per *ropani*, so that a *ropani* of big cardamon cultivation fetches an income of about 400.00 rupees. This cash value is nearly 300 per cent higher than that of paddy and about 500 per cent higher than that of maize.

This being the case, we can now ask: why have not local farmers introduced big cardamon into their fields before? Why are they not now utilizing their paddy and maize fields for cardamon? There are a number of reasons why:

- i) Big cardamon is not a staple crop, and even if it were not grown, there would be no direct effect on the subsistence activities of farmers. It is a cash crop which farmers produce exclusively for sale.
- ii) The market for cardamon: Cardamon has always had an international market and is not consumed locally. The price of cardamon fluctuates locally according to demand and quality. For example, in 1964, the price of cardamon was rupees 60.00 per maund; it rose to 800.00 in 1970 and 1400.00 in 1978. After this the price slowly declined to rupees 850.00 by the last week of December 1980. In other words, though the market is an important factor, it is not just the market

which has determined big cardamon cultivation in the area. Local farmers have been growing cardamon in their waste or marginal lands over the past 4-5 decades whether there was a favorable market or not. The area of cardamon has also been expanded over time without seriously considering the market value of cardamon. According to local farmers, only about a dozen farmers were involved in growing cardamon a decade ago; today thirty-two grow it.

- iii) There is "risk" involved in growing cardamon in relatively good land, whereas there is "satisfaction" and "prestige" involved in growing other staple crops. "Risk" and "satisfaction" factors can be analysed following Sutti Ortiz' material from Columbia (1967, 1973). Ortiz analyzes the production strategies of the Paez farmers of Columbia, showing that their decisions concerning what and how much coffee to grow do not depend on the cash value alone, but also on how much land they can spare to grow coffee and how much land they need for subsistence cropping. Similarly, in the Barbote area, even if the price fluctuates, farmers are not going to lose their initial or total cost of growing cardamon. For example, when the total input for growing one maund of cardamon was analyzed, the costs did not exceed rupees 150 to 200 on the average. Most farm work is of a seasonal nature. A large labor input is required only in weeding, picking, kilning and associated works (irrigation, hoeing,, manuring etc.) and the work schedules do not conflict normally with those for other staple crops. So the incentive is not simply the cash value alone, and growing cardamon, in some cases, is a spare time activity. Unlike the Columbian farmers, the farmers of Barbote have not yet been forced into the much higher risk situations of growing cardamon in their permanently cultivated fields. The farmers know that growing food for survival is more important than having cash for luxuries. Cash has value only when it is used to purchase staple foods. In the local context, a farmer earns respect when he has more paddy and maize fields than waste or marginal land where cardamon is grown. Moreover, unlike the market for cardamon, other staple and domestic products can be sold easily in the local market without any delay. In other words, it is still far from acceptable thinking for villagers to utilize their permanently cultivated fields to grow cardamon, and the question of how a farmer would allocate his permanently cultivated fields either to grow subsistence or cash crops does not arise.

iv) Population Pressure

I agree with Boserup's hypothesis and argue that population growth was a primary variable leading to serious cultivation not only of subsistence crops (from mono-cropping to culticropping; for details see Dahal 1983) but also of cash crops like big cardamon in marginal land in the Barbote Panchayat area. As mentioned above, the population of Barbote Panchayat has grown two per cent per annum over the last two decades. As the population increases, the demand for resources also increases, and some newer adaptative strategy has

to be adopted if the available resources are limited. As the history of big cardamon cultivation shows, when there was not enough pressure on land, the cultivation of big cardamon was not taken seriously, though cardamon growing began at least 50 years ago. But the process of population growth has meant that the limits of expanding land cultivation for subsistence crops have been reached. Slowly, the cultivation of big cardamon increased until by 1970 it had become a serious crop. This process was enhanced as more and more people needed cash to meet the costs of schools and college, modern medicines, transportation, and better clothes and other consumer goods. In other words, the demands of a growing population brought pressure on land which could be met only by growing cash crops. As the staple crops have always been given top priority in their permanently cultivated fields, marginal land was the only available alternative to grow cash crops such as big cardamon.

Conclusion

This paper is an attempt to show how farmers of Barbote Panchayat are adopting a new adaptive strategy rather than sticking to a traditional model of subsistence agriculture. But the important research question still remains: since population pressure is evident throughout the hill regions of Nepal, why have the people of Barbote adopted such measures for alleviating the increased land pressure? What makes this question difficult to answer is the lack of comparable data from other areas of Nepal, particularly dealing with the problem of population growth and increased pressure on land. Perhaps Barbote is not an isolated case, this type of adaptive strategy can be found elsewhere in Nepal. On the other hand, the case of Barbote or Ilam is not necessarily a model of adaptation of people to increased pressure on land. It is true that in regions with an environment or ecology similar to that of Ilam District, the growing of cardamon has yet to take place. For example, there are many hill districts in western Nepal such as Lamjung, Tanahu, Kaski and Palpa whose environments, market facilities and population growth rate are similar to those of Ilam District. Farmers in these districts, however, have yet to grow cardamon in their fields. Why they have not done so is an interesting & urgent question for further research. Perhaps in these districts the pressure of more people on land is not as serious as it is in Ilam District or, such factors as climate, terrain and soil type for intensification are not exactly right. Another likely reason is simply the lack of knowledge; in one culture people know about cardamon and thus it is readily adopted and spread; in other areas people have not yet heard about it, innovation always takes time to spread. But at least in the Ilam case (Barbote Panchayat) possible reasons for cultivating cardamon include disturbance of the population density equilibrium over time in relation to cultivable land, and the existence of available market facilities which have helped the development of cardamon production in this context.

So, Boserup is right when she says population is the major factor for determining agricultural development. But she has to modify her

arguments if she considers population the only variable per se. The farmers of Barbote Panchayat always took advantage of the market of Ilam bazaar: the pursuit of material self-gain through market participation has provided incentives to the farmers to grow cardamon. So Brookfield (1972) is also right when he thinks that intensification of agriculture may take place due to such factors as markets, social production and other forces in addition to population pressure. I argue that population growth as well as market factors mutually interact to lead to the serious cultivation of big cardamon in the area.

To sum up, the direction of adaptation which the people of Barbote Panchayat will take is dependent on the nature of future population growth, the introduction of other types of cash crops, and the existence of a favorable market for cardamon. I expect that subsistence production will decline without the introduction of better technology than is available today in Barbote Panchayat, and that when there is more pressure on land, the production of big cardamon will increase dramatically. I show that demographic conditions have caused people to develop an innovative strategy to cope with the pressure of more people on the land, a positive adaptation to the problem of population growth.

Finally, a note on the policy concern. Because of the rapid population growth in Nepal, there is a growing concern as how people respond to the increased pressure on land. Barbote provides a model example of how existing land resources can be utilized to alleviate the pressure: farmers grow big cardamon, a cash crop, in their marginal land without competing with the cultivation of other staple crops. Such an adaptive strategy, in fact, alleviates the existing pressure on land and also generates cash income at the household-level. This type of adaptation has special significance for land and population policy. The response to population pressure by the people of Barbote is interesting in itself, but it may be of practical value for understanding how to deal with the problem of rapid population growth elsewhere in Nepal.

NOTES

1. This research is an offshoot of my dissertation research conducted in Barbote Panchayat, Ilam District, Eastern Nepal. Material was collected from October 1980 to September 1981. The study was made possible under a grant from the Population Institute, East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawaii. The writer is grateful to Dr. James F. Fisher, for his helpful comments on this paper.
2. Small cardamon is not grown in Nepal.
3. High caste ethnic groups are: Brahmins, Jaisi Brahmins and Chhetries.
4. Matwalis are Newars, Magars, Gurungs, Limbus, Rais, Sunuwars, Tamangs and Jogis.
5. Untouchables are Kamis, Sarkis and Damais.

6. In the traditional system, lands were measured in terms of *Khet*, *Matomuri*, *Pathi* and *Mana* (1 mato muri = 0.25 *ropani*). As of 1971, all lands are measured in *ropanis*.
7. For details on the distribution of land by ethnic groups see Dahal 1983.
8. *Kipat* - A communal form of land tenure prevalent among many groups such as Limbus, Rais, Yakhas, Majiyas, Tamangs, Sunuwars, Chepangs, Thamias and some other groups of Nepal (see Regmi 1963: 28-29).

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*Patterns of Urban and Rural Growth
of Population of Nepal*

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The preparation of a sectorial account of rural and urban growth of population of Nepal is beset by problems of data and definitions. The earliest source on population by localities is the 1952/54 census. The localities identified as urban in the 1961 census do not tally with those identified in the 1952/54 census and the 1971 census urban localities do not tally with those of 1961. The 1981 census, however, includes all the 1971 census urban localities and an additional few urban centers. These inconsistencies in the identification of urban centers in the four consecutive censuses may be attributed to the cause that the criteria for identifying an urban locality is not obvious or constant from census to census. Even though the Town Panchayat Act, 1962 recommends a minimum population of 10,000 inhabitants for a locality to qualify as an urban area, the criterion used in classifying settlements into urban centers or rural settlements is found to have been based on a combination of certain characteristics like the town being a trading centre, educational and administrative centre rather than the population size. Even if one subscribes to the definition of urban areas according to the census, frequent changes in town or urban panchayat boundaries make valid comparison over time a difficult proposition. Furthermore the evidence on the levels and trends in urbanisation does not typically accumulate over time continuously. Instead, estimates of urban and rural growth must rely heavily on information from widely spaced population censuses.

In this paper, the pattern of urban and rural population growth in the country is studied with a view to compare the present urban and rural population growth rates on topographical region and administrative districts basis with the past growth rates wherever available. The practice of presenting estimates based on urban areas designated by the census under review rather than imposing a uniform set of criteria is continued in this study. A general survey of the urbanisation trend for the period 1952-1971 may be found in Shrestha (1975) and New Era (1981).

This study uses the data from the population censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981 on the proportion of urban and rural population (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1965, 1971, 1981). For the year 1961, the data is available for 10 urban localities whereas for the years 1971 and 1981, the data is available for 16 and 23 urban localities respectively. Rupendehi district has two urban localities in it. We have thus a total of 15 districts in 1971 and 22 in 1981 with at least one urban locality in it. We shall refer to these districts as urban districts.

The proportion of urban population in 1961, 1971 and 1981 as derived from the relevant tables of the Population Censuses 1961, 1971 and 1981 are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Proportion of Urban and Rural Population in 1961, 1971 and 1981

Region and District	Proportion of urban population		
	1961	1971	1981
<u>Eastern Hills</u>	<u>0.003</u>	<u>0.052</u>	<u>0.077</u>
Illam	-	0.052	0.055
Dhankuta	-	-	0.107
<u>Eastern Terai</u>	<u>0.039</u>	<u>0.067</u>	<u>0.090</u>
Jhapa	-	0.030	0.020
Morang	-	0.150	0.175
Sunsari	-	0.092	0.122
Saptari	-	0.025	0.043
Siraha	-	-	0.037
Dhanusha	-	0.043	0.081
Parsa	-	0.064	0.153
<u>Kathmandu Valley</u>	<u>0.474</u>	<u>0.403</u>	<u>0.474</u>
Bhaktapur	-	0.364	0.303
Kathmandu	-	0.425	0.557
Lalitpur	-	0.381	0.433
<u>Central Inner Terai</u>	-	<u>0.099</u>	<u>0.124</u>
Makwanpur	-	0.099	0.143
Chitwan	-	-	0.124
<u>Central Terai</u>	-	<u>0.124</u>	<u>0.142</u>
Rupendehi	-	0.124	0.142
<u>Western Hills</u>	<u>0.006</u>	<u>0.074</u>	<u>0.137</u>
Kaski	-	0.136	0.211
Palpa	-	0.030	0.061
<u>Western Inner Terai</u>	-	-	<u>0.008</u>
Dang	-	-	0.077
Surkhet	-	-	0.083
<u>Western Terai</u>	<u>0.058</u>	<u>0.187</u>	<u>0.166</u>
Banke	-	0.187	0.166
Kailali	-	-	0.106
Kanchanpur	-	-	0.259
NEPAL	0.037	0.400	0.064

Since the proportions of urban population for Dhankuta, Siraha, Chitwan, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts are available only for a census year, these districts have been dropped from the analysis.

A cursory view of Table 1 will reveal that the level of urbanisation of the nation is rather very low. On the average, out of every thousand of the country's population 37 lived in towns and 963 lived in villages in 1961. The corresponding figures for 1971 and 1981 are 44 and 956, and 64 and 936 respectively. During 1961-1981, the urban population increased from 336,222 to 956,721 or by 5.37 per cent and the rural population by 2.21 per cent. The rural population with all that implies in occupation, education, low levels of living and general backwardness is declining slowly since the urban growth is much faster than its rural counterpart. The rural-urban transfers have accelerated during the two decades.

For the year 1981, we find that the urban element is not uniform in all the districts. Kathmandu district with 55.7 per cent of population living in towns is the most urbanised district in the country with Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts holding second and third places respectively with 43.3 and 30.3 per cent urban population. Next in the ranking order follows Kanchanpur, Kaski and Morang districts with 25.9, 21.1 and 17.5 per cent urban population. Jhapa district with 98 per cent of the population living in villages has the lowest urban ratio in the country. Siraha, Sunsari and Illam are the next least urbanised districts in the country.

The urban and rural population forms a system of two sectors each of which is subject to change in size as a result of natural increase, out-migration to other districts and in-migration from other districts in addition to immigration from outside the country. However, if we assume the intercensal difference between urban and rural growth rates to remain constant during the intercensal period, then it is possible to consider only the proportion of urban population at the two ends of a intercensal duration and extrapolate into the future the most recently observed urban-rural growth difference. Such a difference implies the rate of change of the ratio of urban population proportion to its rural counterpart and besides being relatively insensitive to changes in the completeness of census enumeration, shows considerable stability over a wide range of conditions and can be computed directly from the urban proportion that are recorded in the two censuses rather than from absolute numbers. The extrapolation using the urban-rural growth difference, in short URGD, results in an exponential time path of the proportion urbanised.

For the data given in Table 1, the URGD between the most recent observations have been computed for each of the 15 urban districts and between the three most recent observations for the urban regions. These are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Urban Rural Growth Differences for the Years 1971 and 1981

Region and District	URGD		Region and District	URGD	
	1971	1981		1971	1981
<u>Eastern Hills</u>	<u>0.2608</u>	<u>0.0182</u>	Lalitpur	-	0.0093
Illam	-	0.0025	<u>Central Inner</u>		
<u>Eastern Terai</u>	<u>0.0248</u>	<u>0.0140</u>	<u>Terai</u>	-	<u>0.0111</u>
Jhapa	-	-0.0191	Makwanpur	-	0.0182
Morang	-	0.0114	<u>Central Terai</u>	-	<u>0.0068</u>
Sunsari	-	0.0137	Rupendehi	-	0.0068
Saptari	-	0.0243	<u>Western Hills</u>	<u>0.1122</u>	<u>0.0303</u>
Dhanusha	-	0.0292	Kaski	-	0.0230
Parsa	-	0.0422	Palpa	-	0.0322
<u>Kathmandu</u>			<u>Western Terai</u>	<u>0.0573</u>	<u>-0.0063</u>
<u>Valley</u>	<u>-0.0125</u>	<u>0.0124</u>	Banke	-	-0.0063
Bhaktapur	-	-0.0119			
Kathmandu	-	0.0230			
NEPAL				0.0086	0.0170

For the country as a whole, whereas the URGD in 1971 stood only at 0.86 per cent, it doubled to 1.7 per cent in 1981. Amongst the regions, the Eastern Hills had the highest URGD of 26.08 per cent in 1971 which declined to 1.8 per cent in 1981 and yet maintained the lead next to the Western Hills for which the URGD decreased from 11.22 per cent in 1971 to 3.03 per cent in 1981. Kathmandu Valley had the least URGD of -1.25 per cent in 1971 which improved to 1.24 per cent in 1981, which is lesser than the national URGD. In general, except for the Valley, the URGD of the regions can be seen to have lessened by 1981. In all of these cases, inclusion of a rural district of 1971 as an urban district in 1981 seems to have lowered the URGD. Furthermore an increase in the proportion of the urban population for the Eastern Hills, Eastern Terai and Western Hills has led to a decrease in the corresponding URGD. For the Valley however, an increase in the proportion of urban population has led to an increase in the corresponding URGD, and for the Western Terai a decrease in the proportion of the urban population has led to a decrease in the corresponding URGD. Before we draw any inference from these observations, we shall further explore the relationship between the URGD and the initial urban proportion.

The mean URGD for populations that fall into a particular category of initial urban proportion for the most recent URGD are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

URGD According to Initial Urban Proportion

Range of initial proportion	No. of districts		Mean URGD between two most recent observations
	1971	1981	
0-0.14	10	6	0.0152
0.14-0.28	2	6	0.0138
0.28-0.42	2	1	-0.0119
0.42-0.56	1	2	0.0189

While it is obvious that the urbanisation has progressed steadily during the decade 1971-1981 leading to the maturation of urban areas, it is also clear that the URGD and the range of initial urban proportions are not related in any particular direction. The coefficient of correlation between the two variables for the 15 urban districts in 1981 is seen to be 0.0167. Thus the urban proportions are virtually uncorrelated with the URGD and as such no relationship between these two variables need be obtained. The initial urban proportions therefore need not be incorporated into the urban proportion projections.

The bulk of the difference in urban growth rates between the districts would be mainly attributable to the difference in the growth rate of urban population in the districts themselves, it was speculated. But even these differences in urban growth rates between the districts are not attributable primarily to more rapid population growth rates in newly emerging urban centers, because the correlation coefficient between the urban growth rates and the total growth rates for the districts was only -0.1095 which is quite negligible. This implies that the urban growth of a district cannot be predicted by the rate of population growth for that district. Even the correlation coefficient between the urban growth rate and the initial proportion urban is found to be only 0.0482. All these imply that the process of urbanisation is so premature that it is yet to make any significant impact on the growth rate of the population of a district and the initial urban proportion in the district. The large differences in urban growth rates might be more likely caused by rapid rates of natural increases in these districts and hence the rapid changes in the total population size on which the proportions are based.

Using the exponential time path for the urban rural proportions, the urban rural proportions and the urban proportions for the years 1991 and 2001 based on the 1981 URGD figures are extrapolated and presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Estimated Urban Rural Proportions and Urban Proportions for the Years 1991 and 2001.

Region and District	Estimated urban rural proportion		Estimated urban proportions	
	1991	2001	1991	2001
<u>Eastern Hills</u>	<u>0.1001</u>	<u>0.1201</u>	<u>0.0910</u>	<u>0.1072</u>
Ilam	0.0597	0.0612	0.0563	0.0577
<u>Eastern Terai</u>	<u>0.1138</u>	<u>0.1309</u>	<u>0.1022</u>	<u>0.1157</u>
Jhapa	0.0169	0.0139	0.0166	0.0137
Morang	0.2377	0.2664	0.1920	0.2104
Sunsari	0.1594	0.1828	0.1394	0.1545
Saptari	0.0573	0.0731	0.0542	0.0681
Dhanusha	0.1180	0.1581	0.1055	0.1365
Parsa	0.2755	0.4201	0.2160	0.2958
<u>Kathmandu Valley</u>	<u>1.0201</u>	<u>1.1548</u>	<u>0.5050</u>	<u>0.5359</u>
Bhaktapur	0.3859	0.3426	0.2784	0.2552
Kathmandu	1.5825	1.9937	0.6128	0.6660
Lalitpur	0.8381	0.9198	0.4560	0.4791
<u>Central Inner Terai</u>	<u>0.1582</u>	<u>0.1767</u>	<u>0.1366</u>	<u>0.1502</u>
Makwanpur	0.1698	0.2401	0.1452	0.1936
<u>Central Terai</u>	<u>0.1771</u>	<u>0.1896</u>	<u>0.1504</u>	<u>0.1594</u>
Rupendehi	0.1771	0.1896	0.1504	0.1594
<u>Western Hills</u>	<u>0.1855</u>	<u>0.2511</u>	<u>0.1565</u>	<u>0.2007</u>
Kaski	0.2656	0.3342	0.2097	0.2505
Palpa	0.0842	0.1161	0.0777	0.1040
<u>Western Terai</u>	<u>0.1873</u>	<u>0.1762</u>	<u>0.1578</u>	<u>0.1498</u>
Banke	0.1873	0.1762	0.1578	0.1498
NEPAL	0.0806	0.0956	0.0746	0.0873

The estimated annual increment in the urban percentage can be seen to be relatively steady between 1981-2001. The average annual gain in percentage urbanised between 1981 and 2001 for the nation is projected at 0.69 per cent points. By the end of the century, the annual increment

in percentage urbanised is expected to be on the upswing for most of the districts except for Kathmandu district for which the average annual gain in percentage urbanised during 1981 and 2001 is expected to be only about 0.26 per cent points. For Bhaktapur, Jhapa and Banke, it seems that the annual average in per cent urbanised during 1981 and 2001 are on a steady decline. It is obvious however that if the projections prove to be accurate, the next century will begin with the national population still dominated by rural majority.

Moreover, Kathmandu Valley contains roughly half (54.01 per cent in 1971 and 45.67 per cent in 1981) of the national urban population. The relatively slow demographic growth in the three districts of the Valley is weighted more heavily in the national urban growth rate than in the rural rate where the slowly growing districts constitute almost 80 per cent of the total urban districts. The simple fact is that the nation is urbanising, in the sense of URGD, much less rapidly than either the Valley districts or the remaining 12 urban districts. This is so because the differentials in demographic growth rate between the two groups of districts give rapidly increasing weight to the less urban growth. If the anticipated demographic growth actually materializes, this disparity should begin to disappear as the slowly growing districts come to constitute lesser fraction of both urban and rural population. The ranking order of major districts by their urban proportion may not be expected though, to change substantially during the rest of the century.

Also, it is obvious that the source of difference between urban and rural growth rates is the net rural-urban migration. Therefore as the urban proportion increases, it would become difficult to maintain a particular URGD because the pool of potential migrants to urban areas declines as a fraction of the urban population while the pool of potential migrants to rural areas increase as a fraction of the rural population. It is reasonable to expect the URGD to decline in the long run as urban population increases. Based on the estimates of urban proportions for the years 1991 and 2001, it may be said that except in the Western Terai, in the rest of the regions the URGD will go on decreasing over the passage of time but whether at all the rural-urban migrations can be directed such that the URGD may attain a fixed level by some future date, is too early to speculate.

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*The Nasal Vowels in Maithili:
An Acoustic Study*

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Introduction

At one point or another, every theory of speech production has to contend with the transition from discrete phonological units or categories to "continuously varying phonetic dimension", as Benguerel and Lafargue (1981: 309) put it. Similarly, every theory of speech perception has to contend with the inverse transition - i.e. from the phonetic continuum to the discreteness of the phonological level. The use of a certain phonetic dimension in a given language may or may not reflect a corresponding contrast in the phonology of that language. Vowel nasalization, for example, is a phonetic phenomenon which does not reflect a phonological contrast in, say, English, although this phonetic phenomenon is often present to some extent whenever a derived level non-nasal vowel occurs between nasal consonants. But there are other languages, e.g. French, Portuguese, Gujarati, Urdu, Hindi and Maithili, in which vowel nasalization does mark a phonological contrast.

Various studies on vowel nasalization (e.g. Lightner, 1970; Ruhlen, 1973; Ferguson, 1974; Cagliari, 1977) point out that many languages show long phonetic vowels in place of underlying VN sequences. Like Hindi and Urdu (e.g. Narang and Becker, 1971; Bhatia and Kenstowicz, 1972), or like Gujarati (e.g. Dave, 1977), Maithili has phonologically distinctive nasal vowels. The present paper analyses the main acoustic realisations of these nasal vowels.

Procedures

For the purpose of the present study, a list of test utterances containing the Maithili nasal vowels was prepared, keeping the vowels both in isolation² and in word contexts. All the test utterances used in this study are listed in Table 1. Each test utterance was put in a sentence context (the frame of the sentence being ['p^hero . . . kəhi'yəu] 'please say . . . again') and it was spoken at a normal conversational speed.

Nine tokens of each test utterance were recorded in a soundproof studio at Essex University. All these recordings were made on a Revox B 77 tape-recorder. Of the nine tokens of each test utterance, the first two as well as the last two tokens were ignored, and all the remaining five tokens from the middle were used to obtain visual records in the

Table 1

Test utterances containing the Maithili nasal vowels spoken in isolation and in words.

Vowels in isolation	Vowels in words	Oral and nasal vowels contrasted in words
/ĩ/	/ç ^h ĩt/ 'garment dyed with spots'	/ç ^h ĩt/ 'scatter' /ç ^h ĩt/ 'garment dyed with spots'
/ẽ/	/ç ^h ẽt/ 'surplus (e.g. of grain)'	/b ^h ẽt/ 'see'; 'get in touch' /b ^h ẽt/ 'a kind of flower-seed'
/æ̃/	/sæ̃/ 'husband; lover'	/b ^h æt/ 'will become' /b ^h æt/ 'kind'; 'type'
/ã/	/hã/ 'goose'	/bas/ 'shelter' /bã/ 'bamboo'
/õ/	/hõs/ 'laugh (imp.)'	/'kəʈgər/ 'commendable' /'kəʈgər/ 'thorny'
/õ/	/sõ/ 'from'	/gət/ 'will sing' /gõt/ '(cattle) urine'
/õ/	/d ^h õr ^h / 'a kind of snake'	/g ^h ot/ 'mix (imp.)' /g ^h õt/ 'swallow (imp.)'
/ũ/	/d ^h ũr ^h / 'search (imp.)'	/kə'hu/ '(please) say' /kə'hũ/ 'somewhere'; 'in case'

form of spectrograms. Wideband spectrograms and wideband 'sections' (i.e. short-term spectrum) of each of the five tokens were made on a Sona-Graph 6061-B Sound Spectrograph, Kay Electronic Co., Pine Brook, N.J.

The formant frequency of each token was measured from wideband spectrograms, since these were found to offer the most convenient way of locating the centre frequency of each formant. Duration measurements were made from all the five tokens of each test utterance as recorded in various contexts. Formant frequency and duration measurements were made to the nearest 20 Hz and 5 ms, respectively.

Formant Frequency Measurement Results and Discussions

The phonetic evidence gathered from the spectrograms of the record-

ings done for this study strengthens the fact that all the nasal vowels in Maithili are unit sounds, and not sequences of an oral vowel plus a nasal consonant. The acoustic analysis presented in this piece of work is based on this fact. Table 2 presents the average frequencies of the first three formants as well as of the nasal formant (Fn) for the nasal vowels spoken in isolation³:

Table 2

The average frequency values of F₁, F₂, F₃ and Fn for the Maithili nasal vowels spoken in isolation (in Hz).

Vowel	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	Fn
/ĩ/	288	2636	3236	962
/ẽ/	448	2354	3104	1274
/æ̃/	708	1752	2682	1084
/ã/	718	1256	2682	1534
/õ/	514	1068	2778	1178
/õ̃/	580	856	2536	1336
/õ/	432	726	2792	1140
/ũ/	322	614	2786	1070

Table 3

The average frequency values of F₁, F₂, F₃ and Fn for the Maithili nasal vowels spoken in words (in Hz).

Vowel	Word	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	Fn
/ĩ/	/çhĩt̚/	330	2638	3490	952
/ẽ/	/çhẽt̚/	436	1944	2608	1068
/æ̃/	/sæ̃/	750	1728	2598	1126
/ã/	/hãs/	736	1294	2480	974
/õ/	/hõs/	534	1246	2542	1722
/ɔ̃/	/sɔ̃/	610	894	2576	1486
/õ/	/d̪hõr̪h/	442	770	2764	1484
/ũ/	/d̪hũr̪h/	338	634	2566	1092

Table 3, on the other hand, lists the average frequencies of F_1 , F_2 , F_3 and F_n for these nasal vowels spoken in words⁴. In Figure 1 a comparison is made between the average F_1 , F_2 and F_3 frequency values of these nasal vowels (connected lines) and those of their oral counterparts (broken lines)⁵ as spoken in isolation. As Tables 2 and 3 as well as Figure 1 show, each nasal vowel in Maithili is sufficiently distinguished by the first two formants. Whether spoken in isolation or in words, the F_2 for all nasal vowels goes downwards throughout the series: /ĩ ě ã ā ẽ õ ũ/. The F_1 goes up for the front vowels /ĩ ě ã/, and then down for the back vowels /õ õ ũ/ in that order. The F_1 for /ã/, whether spoken in isolation or in words, always remains higher than what it is for /ẽ/.

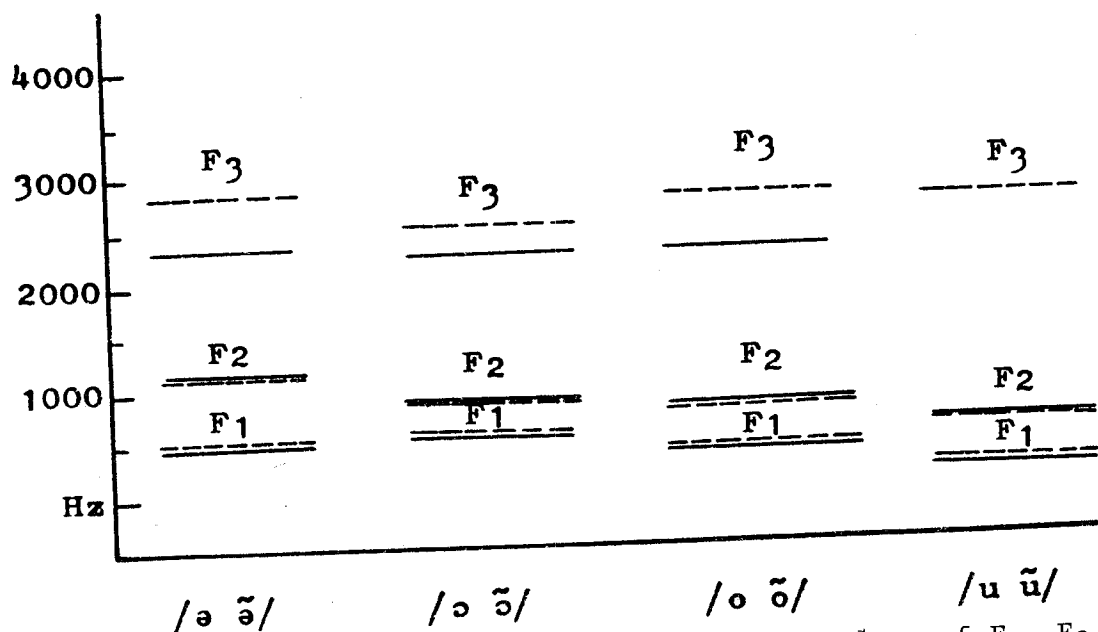
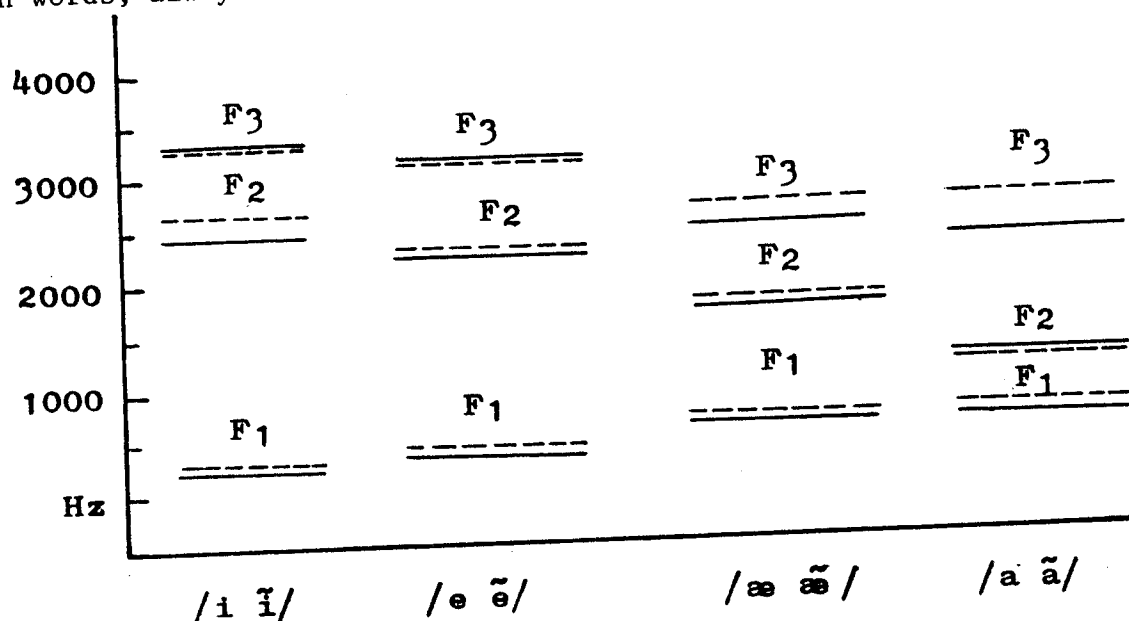


Figure 1: A comparison between the average frequency values of F_1 , F_2 and F_3 for the Maithili oral vowels (connected lines) and for their nasal counterparts (broken lines) spoken in isolation.

The average F_1 and F_2 frequencies for these nasal vowels as given in Tables 2 and 3 are also plotted on a formant chart in Figure 2 for a comparison between these vowels spoken both in isolation and in words. In Figure 2 the actual frequency values shown by broken lines differ from those shown by connected lines in that the former display the effects of the consonantal environments in which the nasal vowels were spoken. Figure 2 clearly shows that, except /ẽ/, the remaining nasal vowels /ĩ æ ã õ ÷ õ ù/ maintain relatively lower vowel heights when spoken in words than when spoken in isolation. In addition, when spoken in words:

- (i) the front nasal vowels /ẽ æ/ become less fronted;
- (ii) the central nasal vowels /ã õ/ become more central - i.e. more fronted and less back; and
- (iii) the back nasal vowels /õ ÷ õ ù/ become less back.

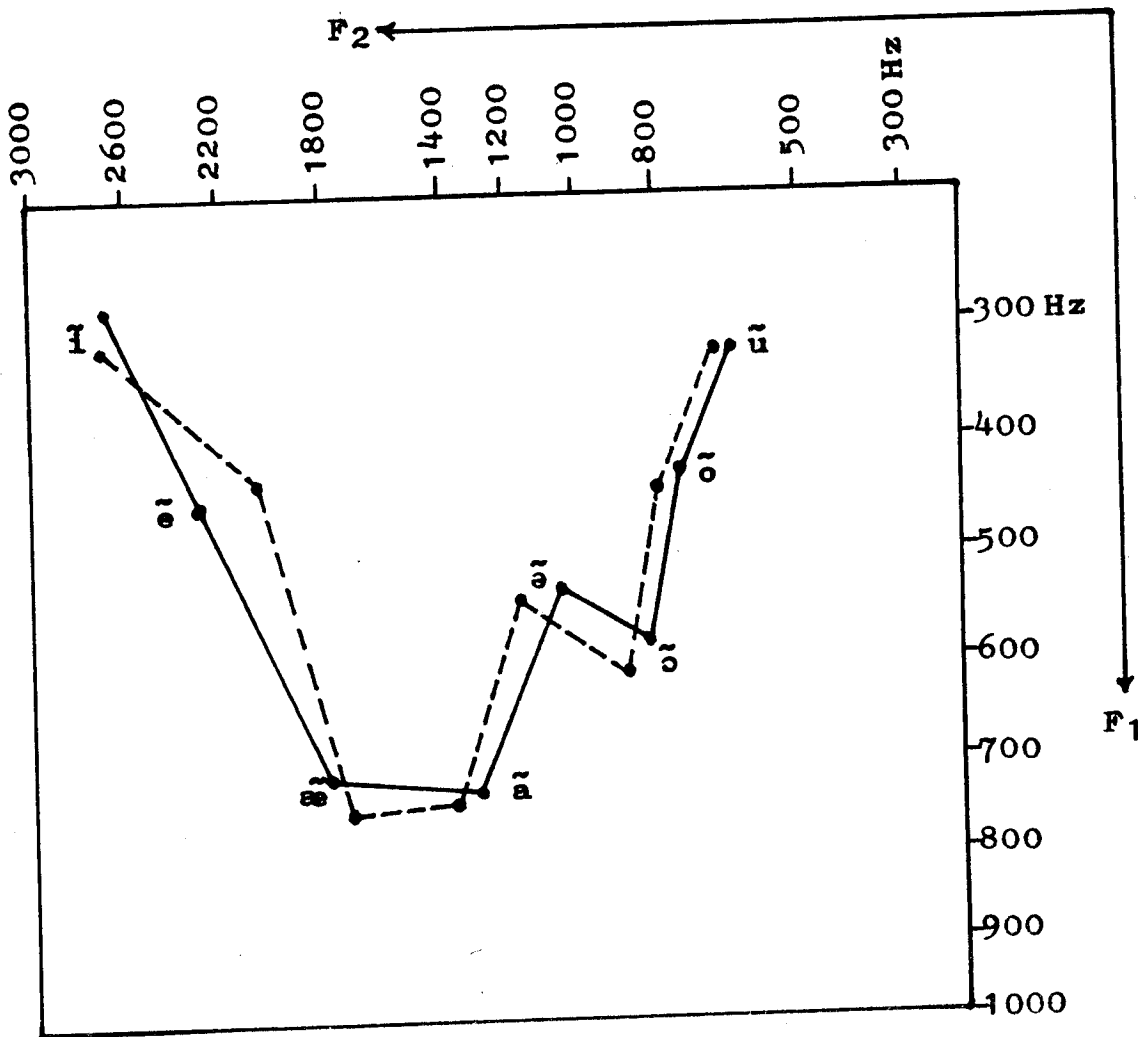


Figure 2: Average frequency values of F_1 and F_2 for the Maithili nasal vowels spoken both in isolation (connected lines) and in words (broken lines).

Figure 3 makes a graphic representation of both the oral (connected

lines) and the nasal (broken lines) vowels in Maithili as spoken in isolation. The figure shows a good deal of similarity between the overall frequency patterns of these oral and nasal vowels. It also shows that the nasal vowels maintain relatively lower vowel heights than their oral counterparts. In addition, Figure 3 also shows that, when compared with their oral counterparts:

- (i) the front nasal vowels /ĩ ē ã/ are more fronted;
- (ii) the central nasal vowels /ã ẽ/ become less central - i.e. less fronted and more back; and
- (iii) the back nasal vowels /õ õ ã/ become more back.

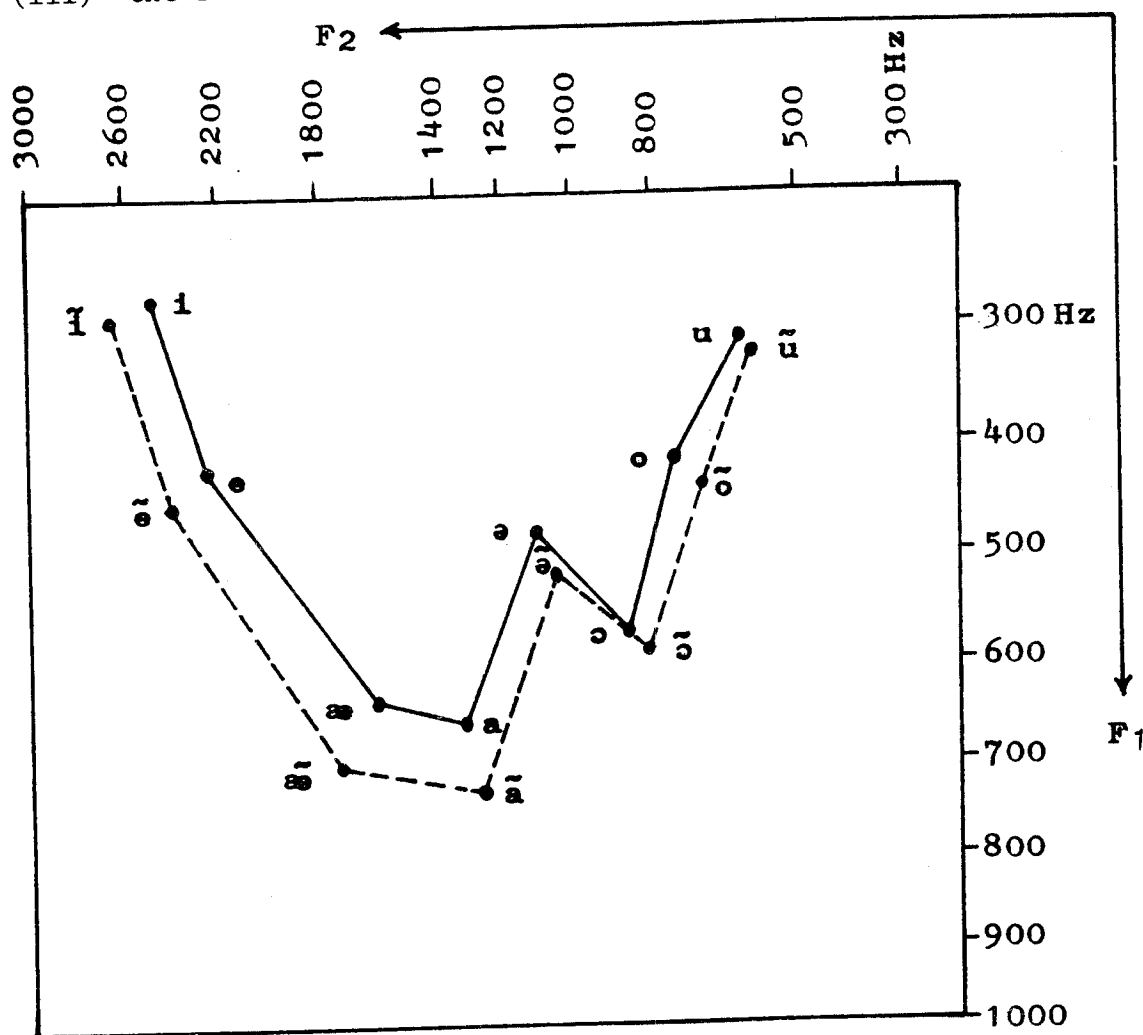


Figure 3: Average frequency values of F₁ and F₂ for the Maithili oral vowels (connected lines) and nasal vowels (broken lines) spoken in isolation.

In order to make a further comparison between these oral and nasal vowels, each one of them was also recorded in words of the same stress and consonantal environments. Table 4 gives the average frequency values of the first three formants for these oral and nasal vowels⁶. The F₁ and

Table 4

Average frequency values of F_1 , F_2 and F_3 for the Maithili oral and nasal vowels spoken in words of the same stress and consonantal environments.

Vowel	Word	F_1	F_2	F_3
/i/ /ĩ/	/ç ^h it/ /ç ^h ĩt/	310 Hz 330	2430 Hz 2638	3408 Hz 3490
/e/ /ẽ/	/b ^h et/ /b ^h ẽt/	424 450	1935 1962	2578 2626
/æ/ /æ̃/	/b ^h æt/ /b ^h æ̃t/	680 751	1679 1724	2460 2572
/a/ /ã/	/bas/ /bãs/	683 753	1366 1232	2450 2402
/ə/ /ə̃/	/'kəʈgər/ /'kə̃ʈgər/	523 543	1314 1218	2636 2522
/ɔ/ /õ/	/gɔt/ /gõ̃t/	631 648	907 857	2552 2570
/o/ /õ/	/g ^h ot/ /g ^h õ̃t/	429 443	812 740	2450 2764
/u/ /ũ/	/kə'hu/ /kə'hũ/	318 324	776 613	2352 2448

F_2 frequency values for these oral and nasal vowels are also graphically plotted on a formant chart in Figure 4.

Thus, to summarize, the acoustical measurements displayed in all the tables and figures of this study, and close inspections of formant amplitudes as well as of the relative intensity of the first three formants of all the oral and nasal vowels in Maithili strengthen the following main remarks:

First, our results support the observation of most previous investigators of nasal vowels (e.g. House and Stevens, 1956: 225; Fant, 1960: 148-149; Kongsdal, 1967: 59-66; Dave, 1977: 62-68; R. Yadav, 1979a: 173-174) that the major attributes for these vowels lie in the region of F_1 . Our study reveals that there are three major attributes for nasal vowels in the F_1 region: i.e. F_1 frequency, F_1 intensity and F_1 amplitude. The results of our F_1 frequency-measurements show that on average all the nasal vowels in Maithili maintain relatively higher frequency values, and

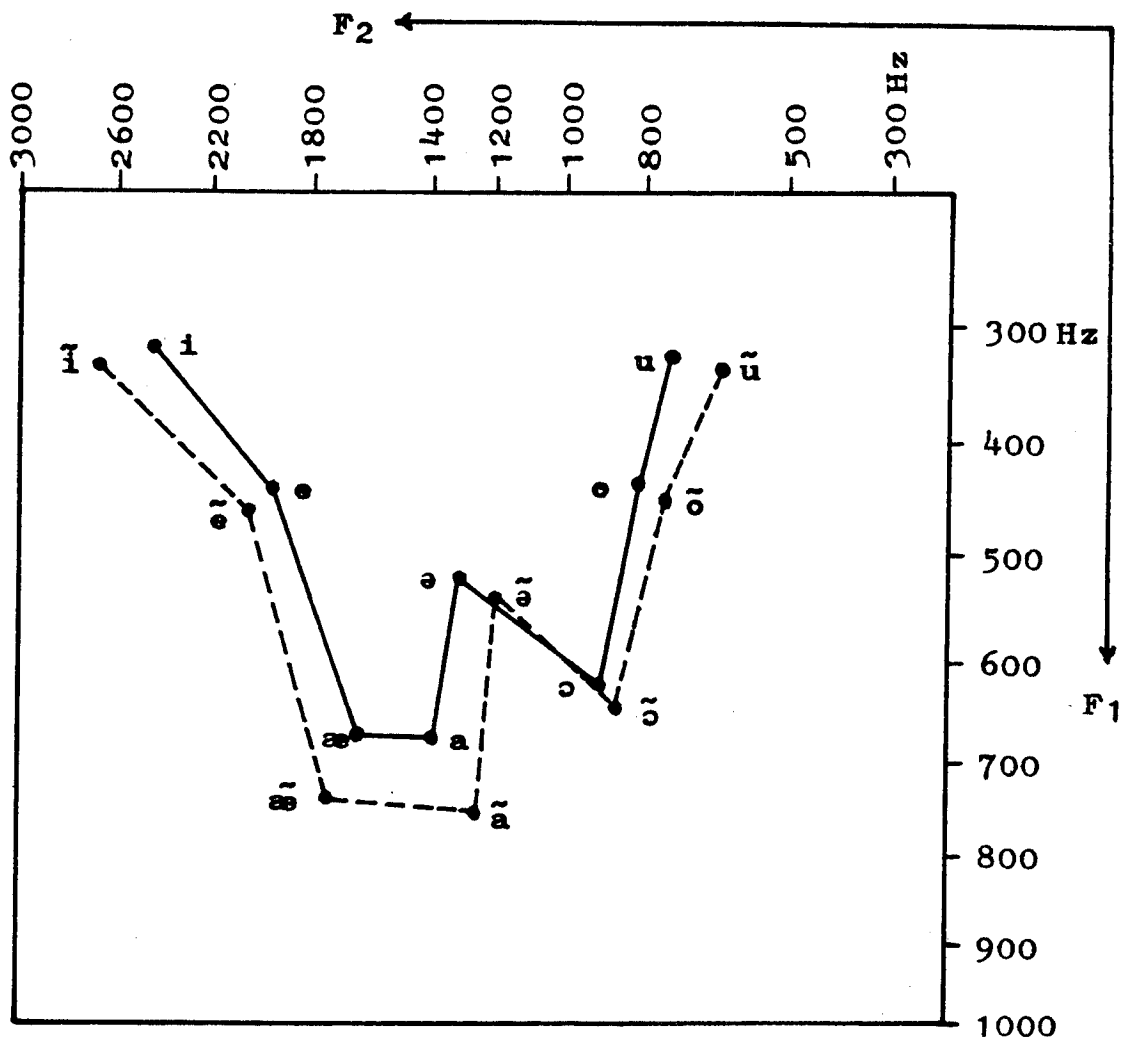


Figure 4: Average frequency values of F₁ and F₂ for the Maithili oral vowels (connected lines) and nasal vowels (broken lines) spoken in words of the same stress and consonantal environments.

therefore relatively lower 'vowel height', than their oral counterparts. A close study of all spectrograms investigated in this study indicates that in the nasal vowels, when compared with their oral counterparts, the F₁ loses much of its intensity in favour of the F₂. In addition, our results also show that the F₁ amplitude for the nasal vowels remains relatively lower than that of their oral counterparts.

Secondly, our results also show a good deal of similarity between the overall frequency-patterns of the Maithili oral and nasal vowels. But, on the whole, when compared with their oral counterparts:

- (i) the front nasal vowels /ĩ ẽ ã/ are more fronted;
- (ii) the central nasal vowels /ã õ/ are less central - i.e. they

tend to be positioned more toward the back than the front; and

(iii) the back nasal vowels /ĩ õ ã/ are more back.

As a result, the Maithili nasal vowels occupy relatively more extreme positions in the formant charts than their oral counterparts. Dave (1977: 63) also reports a similar finding for the Gujarati oral and nasal vowels.

Thirdly, almost all spectrograms investigated in this study show that the relative intensity of F_3 remains much weaker in the Maithili nasal vowels than in their oral counterparts.

Finally, the appearance of nasal formants has also been said (e.g. Joos, 1948; Fant, 1960; Delattre, 1969; Ladefoged, 1975/1982; Cagliari, 1977; Dave, 1977) to be an important attribute of nasal vowels. According to Smith (1951), nasal formants usually occur in nasal vowels at around 1000 Hz. Our F_n measurement-results support Smith's claim, but only partly. Although it does not always seem easy to state the exact F_n frequency of nasal vowels, our results show that the average F_n frequency region for the Maithili nasal vowels has a range between 952 Hz and 1722 Hz. This (952 Hz-1722 Hz) range should not be taken as surprising because Ladefoged (1975: 173), too, reports the presence of 'pseudoformants' for some American English vowels at around 1700 Hz "due to a slight degree of nasalization", and Dave (1977: 67) also reports the presence of 'extra formants' for some Gujarati nasal vowels "in the region of 1000 to 2500 cps".

Duration Measurement Results and Discussions

To determine the relative duration of the Maithili nasal vowels, duration measurements of all these vowels were made from spectrograms. Following the experimental method outlined earlier in this paper, the duration of these vowels was measured in ms. Table 5 lists the average duration of these nasal vowels spoken in isolation⁷:

Table 5

Average duration of the Maithili nasal vowels spoken in isolation (in ms).

Vowel	ĩ	ẽ	æ̃	ã	ẽ	õ	õ	ũ
Duration	241	253	270	280	150	275	256	235

Table 6 lists the average duration of these vowels as spoken in words⁸. The average duration values of these tables are also plotted on a chart as displayed in Figure 5 in which the dots linked by connected lines represent the nasal vowels spoken in isolation, while those linked by broken lines represent the same vowels spoken in words. The figure clearly shows that the nasal vowels spoken in isolation have longer durations than when spoken in words. It also shows that open nasal

Table 6

Average duration of the Maithili nasal vowels spoken in words (in ms).

Vowel	ĩ	ẽ	ã	ã̃	ẽ̃	õ̃	õ	ũ
Duration	160	196	255	227	102	231	211	196

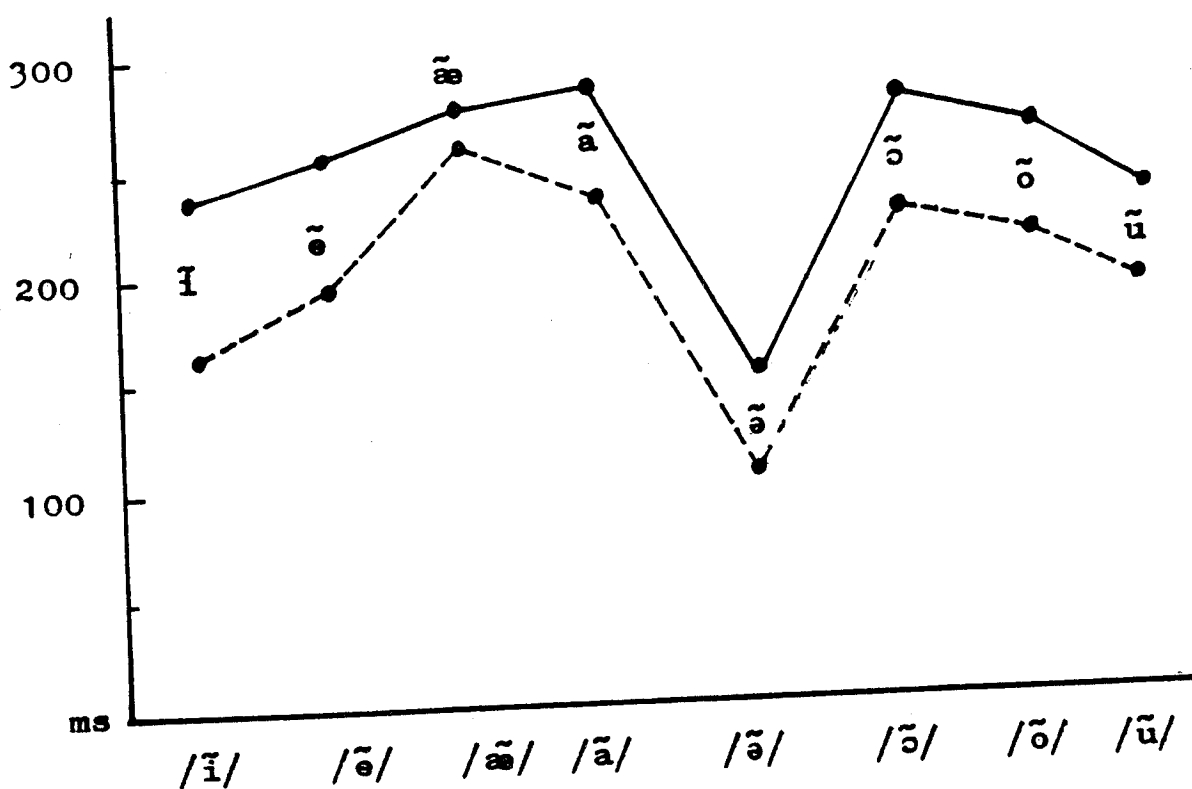


Figure 5: Average duration of the Maithili nasal vowels as spoken both in isolation (connected lines) and in words (broken lines).

vowels tend to maintain longer durations than less open and closed ones.

The relative durations of these oral and nasal vowels as spoken in isolation are compared in Figure 6. The figure clearly shows that all the nasal vowels maintain longer durations than their oral counterparts. Table 7 presents the average durations of all these vowels spoken in words of the same stress and consonantal environments.⁹ The average duration values for these vowels as given in Table 7 are also graphically plotted in Figure 7.

As Figure 7 shows, there is a good deal of similarity between the overall duration-patterns of these oral and nasal vowels. In general, even when spoken in words of the same stress and consonantal environments,

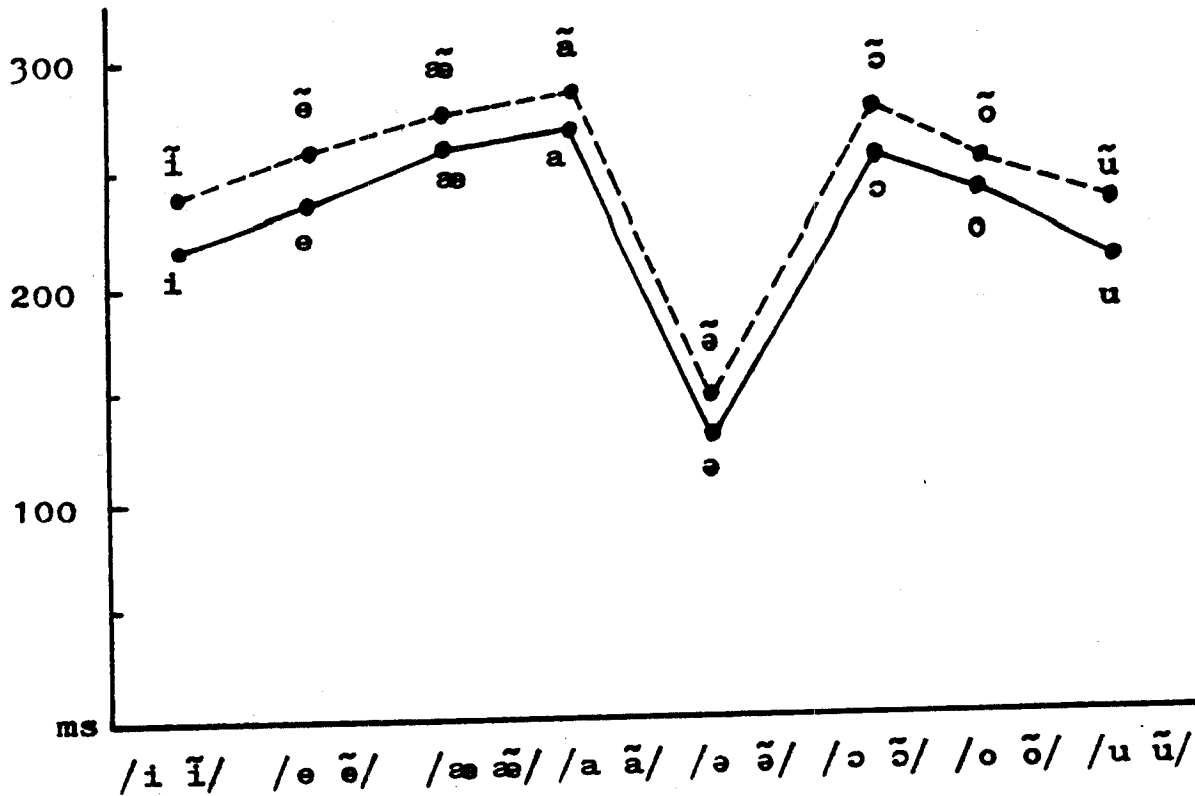


Figure 6: Average duration of the Maithili oral vowels (connected lines) and nasal vowels (broken lines) spoken in isolation.

Table 7

Average duration (in ms) of the Maithili oral and nasal vowels spoken in words of the same stress and consonantal environments, together with the average duration of overall utterance and the average percentage of vowel duration within the overall utterance.

Vowel	Word	Vowel duration	Duration of overall utterance	% of vowel duration within the overall utterance
/i/	/çhit/	132	278	47
/ī/	/çhīt/	160	310	51
/e/	/bhet/	159	306	52
/ē/	/bhēt/	202	342	59
/ə/	/bhæt/	197	419	47
/ǣ/	/bhǣt/	231	455	51
/a/	/bas/	218	424	51
/ā/	/bās/	247	448	55
/ə/	/kəṭger/	59	436	14
/ē/	/kēṭger/	80	449	18
/ɔ/	/got/	221	411	54
/õ/	/gõt/	260	428	61
/o/	/ghot/	207	404	51
/ō/	/ghōt/	242	438	55
/u/	/kə'hu/	326	440	74
/ū/	/kə'hū/	352	456	77

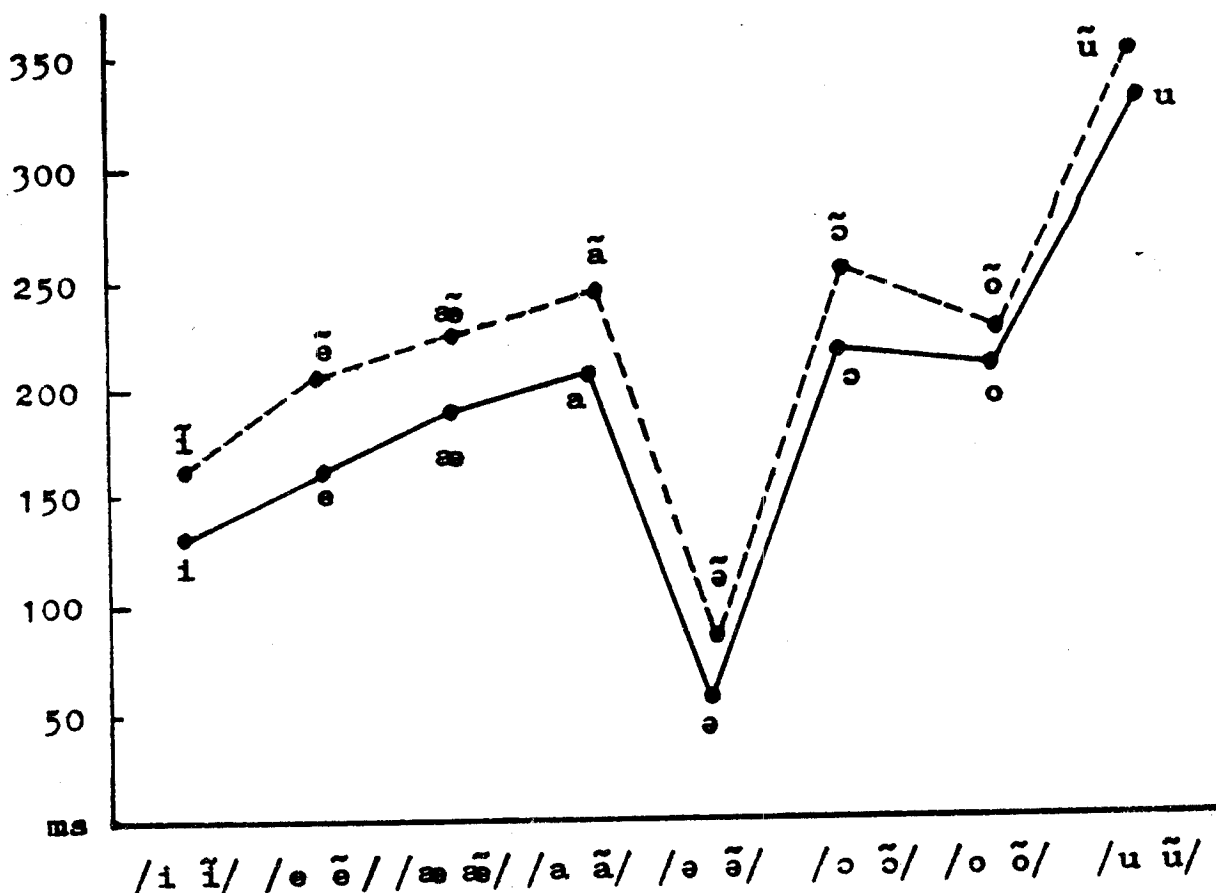


Figure 7: Average duration of the Maithili oral vowels (connected lines) and nasal vowels (broken lines) spoken in words of the same stress and consonantal environments.

the nasal vowels remain longer in duration than their oral counterparts - the length of this duration-difference ranging between 3 and 7 percent within the overall utterance. Pathak (1976: 314) carried out an electrokymographic study of phonetic nasalization in Bagheli - a dialect of Hindi spoken in eastern India - and he also came to a similar conclusion: i.e. "the nasalized vowels in Bagheli have a little longer duration than their oral counterparts". Our results shown in Table 7 and graphically displayed in Figure 7 indicate quite clearly that the presence of the nasal vowel lengthens the overall utterance. That is to say, in almost each test utterance of Table 7 there is no compensation (for the increased length of the nasal vowel) taking place elsewhere in the utterance. And, in general, these data also confirm that, other things being equal, in Maithili open vowels remain longer in duration than close vowels.

NOTES

1. This paper forms part of the fourth chapter of Jha's (1984) doctoral dissertation. The author is grateful to both Professor Marcel A. A. Tatham and Dr. Jacques Durand of the Department of Language and Linguistics at Essex University (England) for their detailed criti-

cisms, comments and suggestions on various versions of this study which have led to its improvements both in style and in content.

2. It should be mentioned here that most of the Maithili vowels in isolation are used as morphemes, and in principle each one of them can be used as a 'free' or 'bound' morpheme in this language.
3. See Jha (1984: 318-319) for the detailed frequency values for each of the total recorded tokens, from which only the average is given in the present table.
4. For the detailed frequency values for each of the total recorded tokens - from which only the average is given in Table 3 - see Jha (1984: 320-321).
5. For the average frequency values of the first three formants for the Maithili oral vowels, see Jha (1984: 92).
6. See Jha (1984: 322-324) for the detailed frequency values for each of the total tokens, together with the average and range of all five tokens of each test utterance.
7. For the detailed duration measurement values for each token of the total utterances as well as for the average and range of those values, see Jha (1984: 325).
8. See Jha (1984: 326) for the detailed duration measurement values, together with the average and range of those values.
9. For the detailed duration measurement values and the percentage values of these measurements, see Jha (1984: 327-329). In the present table values less than 0.50% are ignored, while those between 0.50% and 0.99% are regarded as 1% - i.e. the values are rounded.

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*Regional and Socio-Economic Differentials in
Infant and Child Mortality in Rural Nepal*

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Introduction

In the present paper I will examine infant and child mortality differentials in rural Nepal by geographic regions and socio-economic characteristics, which are known to have significant bearing on infant and child mortality. Geographic regions may not fully explain differentials in infant and child mortality. Apart from differences in climatic conditions, the differentials in fact may be manifestations of the different socio-economic conditions existing within the regions and different levels of availability of health services.

Framework for Analysis

Considerable mortality differentials have been observed not only between the developed and developing countries but also between geographic areas and various socio-economic subgroups of the individual country.

In Asian countries, several studies have examined infant and child mortality differentials by socio-economic factors. In a study based on the Bangladesh Fertility Survey it was confirmed that child mortality has an inverse relationship with socio-economic status (Mitra, 1979). In greater Bombay, social class was found to have strong impact on infant mortality in general and on postneonatal mortality in particular. The increased infant mortality rate in lower strata of society was attributed not to lack of health services, but to lack of knowledge, negligence and reluctance of low status mothers to approach public health services (Ruzicka and Kanitkar, 1973). In a cross-sectional study of 24 countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, Hashmi (1980) noted that the mortality level was highly sensitive to the socio-economic variables as well as to the medical and public health services. Behm and Vallin (1982) observed that population groups that have access to modern medical care, generally urban and living in better socio-economic conditions, have in general mortality rates lower than population groups depending mostly on traditional medicines or limited and low quality health care.

One of the most often used socio-economic variables in the study of infant and child mortality is the level of mother's education. There are numerous studies showing that maternal education plays an important role in determining level of infant and child mortality. The probability of dying from birth to age two by maternal education in a number of Latin American countries around 1966-71 shows that mortality probabilities decline almost linearly with an increase in the level of education.

Children of illiterate women have a risk 3.5 times greater than children of mothers with 10 or more years of education (Behm and Vallin, 1982). Palloni has found in Latin America that about 86 per cent of the variability in the risks of dying before age two was accounted for by the mother's educational level. He further indicated that a 10 per cent change in the measure of aggregate education implies a reduction of 1.2 deaths per 1000 children born to mothers in the average education category but over 5.6 deaths per 1000 in the lowest education category. Therefore, he argues that 'Social and economic factors related to the rate of adult literacy appear to be by far the most relevant; they are surely among those to be manipulated if any further improvements [of infant and early childhood mortality] are to be realized' (Palloni, 1981:645). Preston (1980) also observed for developing countries that a 10 per cent point increase in literacy is associated with a gain in life expectancy of approximately two years.

There is a large number of studies showing invariably a clear negative association between mother's education (in some instances, education of both parents) and infant or early childhood mortality (Ruzicka and Kanitkar, 1973; D'Souza, 1980; Mitra, 1979; Hashmi, 1980; Arriage, 1980). However, there has been no clear indication of how the link between mother's or parents' education and child mortality operates. In many studies the educational variable has been used or interpreted as a proxy for general standard of living of the family. The independent effect of education on child mortality has been pointed out and strongly emphasized by Caldwell as follows:

maternal education is the single most significant determinant of these marked differences in child mortality. These are also affected by a range of other socio-economic factors, but no other factor has the impact of maternal education and in their totality they do not even come close to explaining the effect of maternal education. Clearly, maternal education cannot be employed as a proxy for general social and economic change but must be examined as an important force in its own right. So important is it that it goes far towards mitigating the child mortality impact of the presence or absence of medical facilities in the area of residence (Caldwell, 1979:408).

Caldwell argues that '...education serves two roles: it increases skill and knowledge as well as the ability to deal with new ideas, and provides a vehicle for the import of a different culture' (Caldwell, 1979:408). He also argues that education makes women less 'fatalistic' about illness and more capable of manipulating the modern world; it also changes the traditional balance of familial relationships with profound effect on child care. In a later study, paternal education has also been shown to be important, though not as important as maternal education. Once maternal education was controlled, rural-urban differentials in infant and child mortality became trivial (Caldwell and McDonald, 1982).

A large number of the studies reviewed above have also indicated that variations in level of infant and child mortality are associated with many other socio-economic factors. But these studies have not paid much attention to the mechanisms by which the socio-economic variables actually operate. Only a few studies have so far analysed the effects of intervening variables to account for these associations. Using data from matched birth and death records of infants born in Baltimore city, Shah and Abbey (1971) found birth weight to be the most important factor in both neonatal and postneonatal mortality. In the neonatal period, socio-economic status was important only because of its relation to birth weight. However, in the postneonatal period, socio-economic status itself was also important. Brooks (1980) using data from Cleveland, Ohio, also argues that socio-economic status and infant mortality are associated through the intervening variable - low birth weight.

Mosely (1983) in an attempt to develop a conceptual framework for analysis of infant and child mortality demonstrated that all social and economic variables of child survival operate through some biological mechanisms that enhance or, in contrast, reduce the child's biological responses to adverse elements or conditions endangering its chances of survival. The biological mechanisms in the context of our study will remain 'unexplained' as we have no data suitable for in-depth analysis of such processes.

Most demographic surveys lack relevant information that would make it possible to investigate both socio-economic and biological variables in one analytical model. The Nepal Fertility Survey data is no exception to this. Hence, for the purpose of subsequent discussion I work only with socio-economic variables which are divided into two groups:

- a. Aggregate level - geographic regions (Terai, Hills and Mountains).
- b. Individual level - educational level of parents (or mother, as the latter may indicate the status in the family), and occupation of mother.

The present paper examines infant and child mortality differentials by geographic regions (aggregate level), and then by educational level of parents and occupation of mother (individual level).

Data Source and Methodology

This study is based on data from the Nepal Fertility Survey 1976 carried out by the Nepal Family Planning and Maternal Child Health Project in collaboration with the World Fertility Survey. The details of the survey methodology and sample design can be found in the Nepal Fertility Survey, First Report (Nepal Family Planning and Maternal Child Health Project, 1977). Although the major objective of the survey was to identify differentials in patterns of fertility and fertility regulation and to clarify factors affecting fertility, the information gathered from the pregnancy histories of ever-married women aged 15-49 also provides the most comprehensive and detailed set of data suitable to examine infant

and child mortality by geographic regions and socio-economic characteristics of the parents. The present study is mainly confined to the rural areas of Nepal: of the 5940 women there were 5802 women interviewed in the rural sample.

For the purpose of this study infant mortality is measured as the probability of dying of a cohort of live births before reaching age one, and child mortality (1 - 4 years of age), in turn, is measured as the probability of dying before age five for these of the cohort of births that survived to age one.

In order to calculate the probabilities of dying between birth and age one, and between ages one and five, I excluded from the analysis all children who were born less than five years before the survey to eliminate the effect of truncation. Because of the uncertainty about completeness of reports on births and deaths that occurred in the remote past I excluded from the analysis births that occurred 15 or more years before the survey. In addition, children born more than 15 years before the survey would have a high proportion of those born to younger women; such births are known to be associated with high risk of infant and child death and their inclusion would overestimate the past mortality levels. Thus the present analysis includes the cohorts of children born in 1962-71.

Differentials in Infant and Child Mortality in Rural Areas of Nepal

In this section I first present estimates of infant and child mortality in the rural areas of the Terai, Hills and Mountains for the cohorts of children born in 1962-66 and in 1967-71. This will enable to examine the differentials and time trends in infant and child mortality at the aggregate level. Secondly, at the individual level analysis, I will include selected socio-economic characteristics of the parents such as education of mother and father and occupation of mother, which will provide some idea of the impact of social stratification on infant and child mortality differentials in the rural areas of the Terai, Hills and Mountains.

Regional Differentials in Infant and Child Mortality

Table 1 presents the infant and child mortality rates in Terai, Hills, and Mountains for the cohort of children born in 1962-66 and 1967-71. A simple ratio of these rates is also presented to show the extent of regional variations in infant and child mortality.

Table 1 shows that for the cohort born in 1962-66, the rural infant mortality rate was highest in the Terai region, 206 per 1000, followed closely by 203 in the Mountains and 153 in the Hills. This pattern was somewhat changed for cohort born in 1967-71: the rates were 180 per 1000 in the Mountains, 168 in the Terai and 147 in the Hills. The extent of regional differentials in infant mortality has been somewhat reduced for the latter cohort from a ratio of 1.3 between the highest and the lowest mortality to 1.1. Similarly, child mortality (1-4 years of age) for the

1962-66 cohort was highest in the Mountains, 159 per 1000, followed by 141 in the Terai and 98 in the Hills. For the 1967-71 cohort the pattern of child mortality differentials remained the same: it was once again highest in the Mountains, 143 per 1000, but in the Terai (101) and Hills (100) the rates were virtually the same. As in the case of infant mortality, the regional differentials in child mortality were larger for the earlier cohort, 1962-66 than for the 1967-71 birth cohort.

Table 1

Infant and Child Mortality Rates by Geographic Region and Birth Cohort,
Rural Nepal

Region	Infant Mortality per 1000		Child Mortality per 1000	
	1962-66	1967-71	1962-66	1967-71
Terai	206(1433)	168(2008)	141(1138)	101(1671)
Hill	153(1897)	147(2478)	98(1606)	100(2114)
Mountain	203(291)	180(367)	159(232)	143(301)
Ratio				
Terai/Hill	1.34	1.14	1.44	1.01
Mountain/Hill	1.33	1.22	1.62	1.42

Note: Figures in parentheses are number of live births for infant mortality and number of children that survived to age one year for child mortality.

Source: Nepal Fertility Survey 1976

There has been, in general, a decline in infant and child mortality in rural areas of Nepal during the decade 1962-71. It was much more noticeable in the Terai region; infant mortality declined from 206 to 168 per 1000 and child mortality from 141 to 101 per 1000 between these two birth cohorts. The Mountain region experienced a more moderate decline; from 203 to 180 per 1000 for infant mortality and 159 to 143 per 1000 for child mortality. In contrast, the Hill region experienced only a little or no decline during these periods; infant mortality rates were 153 and 147 per 1000 and child mortality rates 98 and 100 per 1000 for the 1962-66 and 1967-71 cohorts respectively.

The faster decline in infant and child mortality observed in the Terai may be related to the development of public health programmes. Although the malaria eradication programme began in 1958, it was not fully in operation in the whole of the Terai. In this context Gaige noted:

Although malaria eradication began in some of the more populous parts of the Central and Mid-Eastern Tarai in the Mid-1950's, intensive DDT spraying of the entire Central and Mid-Western Tarai did not begin until March, 1960. In the Mid-Western districts it began in March, 1963, in the far eastern districts in March, 1964, and in the far western districts in November, 1965 (Gaige, 1970: 208-209).

Therefore, the malaria eradication programme can, in part, account for reducing infant and child mortality in the Terai between 1962-71. The Hill region was free from malaria, and infant and child mortality rates were initially at comparatively lower levels. The lack of significant improvement of socio-economic conditions in the Hills can be associated with the slower pace of decline in both infant and child mortality. The persistently higher infant and child mortality levels in the Mountains may be due to the lack of improvement in health services and low level of socio-economic development. It can also be conjectured that the higher infant and child mortality in the Mountains may be due to some biological factors such as low birth weight. This study does not provide data to support this conjecture, but it may be supported by other relevant studies. Pawson (1977) reviewed several studies and showed that children born and raised above 3500 metres exhibited decreased birth weight and slower growth rates compared to children born at sea level. Data for highland resident in the United States suggested a positive correlation between neonatal mortality and altitude, perhaps related to lower birth weight and increased frequency of premature births. A similar pattern was exhibited among Andean populations with long histories of high altitude residence (Weitz et. al., 1974). Bangham and Sacherer (1980) also observed a higher male childhood mortality rate among high altitude populations in Nepal related to the lower birth weight, because of a greater number of male births with birth weight less than 2500 grams.

Socio-Economic Differentials in Infant and Child Mortality

The preceding section has revealed regional variations in infant and child mortality at an aggregate level, and it was suggested that the differences may be related to variations in general socio-economic conditions and provision of public health and medical services. Infant and child mortality rates, however, depend also on the individual characteristics of the parents. Given similar availability of health services, the individual socio-economic characteristics of the parents may play an important role in infant and child mortality. The present section examines the effect of three socio-economic characteristics of the parent on infant and child mortality differentials in the rural areas of the Terai, Hills and Mountains. Because of small sample size in some of the categories the two birth cohorts have been combined in one, namely all children born in the decade of 1962-71.

Table 2 presents the infant mortality rates in the rural areas of

the Terai, Hills and Mountains by the characteristics of the parents: education of mother, education of father and occupation of mother. As the 'some education' group, particularly of the mothers, represents a small fraction of the study population one needs to be cautious in the interpretation of the results; when dealing with small cell size, errors in the reporting of even one or two deaths can produce large fluctuations in the rates. Therefore, small differences in the rates pertaining to small cell size may not be genuine.

Table 2

Infant Mortality Rates (per 1000) by Socio-Economic Characteristic and Geographic Region, Rural Nepal

Characteristic	Terai	Hill	Mountain	Total
Education of Mother				
1. No Education	183(3325)	149(4318)	191(654)	166(8297)
2. Some Education	207(116)	175(57)	* (4)	192(177)
Education of Father				
1. No Education	189(2531)	151(3567)	193(555)	169(6653)
2. Some Education	169(910)	142(808)	175(103)	158(1821)
Mothers Work Aside from Housework				
1. Work	205(1436)	151(3917)	192(645)	168(5998)
2. Do not work	168(2003)	141(454)	* (13)	163(2470)

* Number of cases too small.

Note: Figures in parentheses are number of live births.

Source: Nepal Fertility Survey 1976.

Table 2 shows that when education of mother is considered the regional pattern of infant mortality still persists; the Mountains having highest infant mortality followed by the Terai and Hills. However, in contrast to the findings from other studies, mothers with 'some education' appear to have experienced a higher infant mortality rate than those with 'no education'. Considering the number of births involved in the calculation and the fact that the category 'some education' consists largely of women with less than completed primary education the difference can by no means be taken as invalidating the generally recognized negative association between mother's education and infant mortality.

In the case of father's education, infant mortality is slightly higher (169 per 1000) among children of fathers with 'no education' than those with 'some education' (158 per 1000). The breakdown by regions also reveals that in all the three regions the infant mortality rate is higher among children whose fathers have 'no education' than

those whose fathers have 'some education' Except for the Mountains, the sample size is fairly large, and, hence, the result that father's education has some impact in lowering infant mortality in rural Nepal may be accepted with confidence.

It is also revealed in this table that infant mortality, in general, does not differ much between children of mothers who work aside from housework (168 per 1000) and those who do not work (163 per 1000). However, in the Terai region, mothers who work have substantially higher infant mortality (205 per 1000) than those who do not work, (168 per 1000). It is to be noted that almost all women working outside home in the Hills and Mountains attend to farm work. This probably does not interfere with their caring for an infant.

Now let us examine the effect of the individual socio-economic characteristics of the parents on child mortality. A large number of studies have shown that the individual characteristics of the parents have a more substantial effect on child mortality than on infant mortality in particular to Nepal where breastfeeding extends over prolonged period well in excess of 12 months.

Table 3

Child Mortality Rates (per 1000) by Socio-Economic Characteristic and Geographic Region, Rural Nepal

Characteristic	Terai	Hill	Mountain	Total
Education of Mother				
1. No Education	119(2717)	100(3673)	151(529)	111(6919)
2. Some Education	54(92)	64(47)	* (4)	56(143)
Education of Father				
1. No Education	128(2053)	101(3027)	161(448)	116(5528)
2. Some Education	89(756)	92(693)	94(85)	91(1534)
Mothers Work Aside from Aside				
1. Work	120(1142)	103(3326)	150(521)	111(4989)
2. Do not work	115(1666)	72(390)	* (12)	107(2068)

* Number of cases too small.

Note: Figures in parentheses are number of children that survived to age one year.

Source: Nepal Fertility Survey 1976.

Table 3 presents the child mortality rates in the rural areas of the Terai, Hills and Mountains by education of mother, education of father and occupation of mother. Child mortality rate is reduced to one-half

among children whose mothers have some education compared to those whose mothers have no education. These differences persist for the Terai and Hill regions. Here again the problem of sample size in the category of mothers with 'some education' makes us skeptical of reaching any firm conclusion. However, in view of the magnitude of the differences, we are inclined to accept them as real with respect to the direction of the differential even if the magnitude may be less reliable.

Education of father is also found to have some impact on child mortality. The child mortality rate is lower (91 per 1000) among children whose fathers have some education than those whose fathers have no education (116 per 1000). This pattern persisted in all the three regions. However, the differentials by father's education are much less compared to mother's education. It is also interesting to note that when fathers with 'some education' are considered, the regional differentials in child mortality virtually disappear; the rates are 89, 92 and 94 per 1000 in the Terai, Hills and Mountains, respectively.

As with infant mortality, child mortality does not differ much between children of mothers who work aside from housework (111 per 1000) and mothers who do not work (107 per 1000). However, in the Hills, mothers who work experienced considerably higher child mortality (103 per 1000) than those who do not work (72 per 1000). A similar result was found in Sudan where children of working mothers had higher mortality than children of housewives (Farah and Preston, 1982). The explanation Farah and Preston advanced was that children of working mothers were deprived of adequate child care. This may be the case in Nepal as well but there are no data to support this.

Conclusion

This paper has examined infant and child mortality differentials at aggregate and individual levels. The aggregate analysis considered geographic regions, namely the rural areas of the Terai, Hills and Mountains. The individual level analysis included three socio-economic characteristics of the parents for which the Nepal Fertility Survey provided information, namely education of mother, education of father and occupation of mother. The analysis were carried out for infant and child mortality separately.

The regional differentials in infant and child mortality have been examined for two birth cohorts, children born in 1962-66 and 1967-71. It is shown that the Mountain regions have the highest infant and child mortality followed by the Terai and Hills. The persistently higher level of mortality in the Mountains has been attributed to the low level of socio-economic development and lack of general health services there.

The time trend in infant and child mortality revealed a general decline in rural mortality: the extent of variation in the rates, particularly of the Hill-Terai differentials, was much larger for the earlier birth cohort, and has been substantially reduced for the latter birth cohort. The Terai regions experienced a noticeable decline in infant and

child mortality between these periods. This is probably due to the fact that in the Terai region, in the past, malaria had a high prevalence. The malaria eradication programme has been able to assist in bringing down the level of infant and child mortality quite substantially. The Hill region was free from malaria and infant and child mortality was initially at a relatively lower level compared to the Terai. The lack of substantial improvement in general socio-economic development in the Hills may account for the slower pace of decline in infant and child mortality.

At the individual level analysis, the data for the two cohorts have been combined because of the problem of small cell sizes in some of the categories. It has been found that mother's education does not seem to have affected infant mortality, but, rather, the differences, although rather small, was in the opposite direction than expected. The small number of births in that educational category of mothers and the fact that most of them had less than completed primary education makes it difficult to interpret the result with confidence. However, father's education has shown some reducing impact on infant mortality. Infant mortality did not differ much between mothers who work aside from housework and those who do not work. However, in the Terai, mothers who work aside from housework have substantially higher infant mortality than those who do not work.

There is a greater conformity with other studies with respect to socio-economic differentials in child mortality in rural Nepal. It has been shown that child mortality was substantially lower among children of mothers with some education than those of mothers with no education. Mothers with no education have experienced child mortality that was twice as high as for those with some education. Child mortality was also lower among children whose fathers have some education than those whose fathers have no education. But the differentials were not as large as those in the case of mother's education.

Although child mortality, in general, did not differ much between children of mothers who work aside from housework and those who do not work, in the Hills it was found to be higher among children of working than of non-working mothers. This may be due to some degree to the probability that children of working mothers are deprived of adequate care.

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*Social Change and Status Emulation Among the
Nisyangte of Manang*

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Introduction

In a recent article, Messerschmidt has tackled head-on basic issues of social change in Nepal. This effort is timely in two respects: (1) it draws attention to the fact that the paradigm of social change which has guided anthropological thinking since the work of Leach and Barth "(has not) yet been fully applied to the study of change in Himalayan societies" (Messerschmidt 1982:267) and (2), as a particular demonstration of this assertion, it attempts to right the balance of the heavily documented literature on social change among the Thakali¹, previously weighted to emphasize discontinuous aspects of change at the expense of the continuous. This article proposes to follow the implications of this line of argument in two directions. First, it attempts to extend the ethnographic basis of evidence for continuity of social change in the region through data drawn from an immediately neighbouring and equally entrepreneurial group, the people of Nyishang². Second, through comparison of the different courses of social change followed by the Thakali and Nyishang people, it tries to highlight the complexity of one particular element in the study of social change in Nepal, the somewhat vexed issue of status emulation.

Change and Continuity in Nyishang Trade

Since a stance on the shoulders of Messerschmidt's argument is the point of departure for this article, and since the original form of that argument may not be widely available to readers in Nepal, a brief summary is not out of place. To evade responsibility for the loss in substance which is unavoidable in any summary, I will borrow the abstract of the argument from that article:

The Thakali of north-central Nepal have long captured anthropological interests as a people who have readily adapted to changes in their social, religious, economic and political environments. Recent ethno-historical research, however, casts new light on the question of how discontinuous contemporary Thakali culture is vis-à-vis the past. This study traces changes in Thakali religion from shamanic Dhom, through Boh and Buddhism, to modern Hinduism and

scientific atheism, and simultaneous political changes from the 7th century A.D. to the present. Quite apart from the usual interpretation of radical cultural change, this study demonstrates a basic underlying adaptive continuity, with obvious ramifications on scholarly interpretations of change in Nepalese Himalayan society (Messerschmidt, 1982).

In the case of the Thakali, the evidence for discontinuity with the past comes from the anthropological literature where recent changes in the group's religious practice and political orientation feature prominently (ibid, pp. 269-71); the evidence for underlying continuity of change is found in a historical pattern of adaptation to an environment of cultural pluralism, the vagaries of which occasioned such changes. In the absence of a comparable literature on the people of Nyishang³, it is principally through stereotype that the group's present circumstances have come to be seen as departing radically from their past. This idea, part of a sharply defined public image of the group, has developed apace with the group's rise to wealth - a rise at once more recent, more rapid, more extensive, and more subject to scrutiny than that of the Thakali⁴. Due in part to these factors, opinion tends to be uniform on the subject of the group's abrupt social metamorphosis where it is otherwise divided on questions such as the group's origin and status. A common expression of this image is in terms of the contrast between the unkempt traders who used to peddle bits of root in the streets of Kathmandu and those same traders who are now setting standards of fashion while trading in Walkmans and video cameras. The Nyishang people themselves also contribute to an image of the group's break with their past. The division of the community into urban and rural segments has, for reasons which will be touched on, tended to dichotomize modern and traditional values, resulting in an appreciable sense of dislocation with the past.

More exacting specification of the degree of discontinuity in the entrepreneurial history of the Nyishang people can only be grasped, of course, in forms less slippery than stereotype and group image. The principle sources for a surer hold on the history of Nyishang trade are: (1) a series of government documents (N: lal mohar) addressed to the leaders of the Nyishang community over almost a two hundred year period (V.S. 1844-2021) and (2) oral history⁵. While the documentary evidence can not be considered in detail here, it can be summarized to provide context for the oral history of Nyishang trade.

These documents indicate that, for at least a two hundred year period, the Nyishang locality had effective local autonomy as well as insulation from the continual shifts of power common to the region (see Messerschmidt 1928:272 for the effects of these shifts of power on the Thakali). The major limitation of this autonomy involved traditions of tributary tax payments to more powerful neighbors including -- but initially not limited to -- the Gorkha authorities in Kathmandu. Apparently, the central authorities in Kathmandu granted the people of Nyishang trading concessions (principally, a customs tax exemption on trade goods) in return for recognition of the government's sovereignty

as expressed through payment of an annual tribute (sirto land taxes fixed at a nominal level and an annual tribute of local goods including boots (*khyoo*), a musk deer (*laou*), and a musk pod (*laou phiinyii*). Although such accommodations varied in terms of specific provisions, they were not uncommon in other peripheral areas of the newly formed nation (see Regmi 1978:74-6). What is unusual, though by no means unique, in the case of Nyishang is that these concessions were retained through administrative reorganizations during subsequent periods of political consolidation.

In 1883, as a document of that year reveals, traders were engaged in the barter of locally procured commodities in trade centers of north India reached via Nautanwa. The impetus for the southern orientation of trade was the geographical disadvantage which limited Nyishang involvement in the local salt-grain trade. The principle route in the vicinity of Nyishang passed through Thak Khola and Mustang in the neighbouring Kali Gandaki valley to the west. A secondary route followed the lower Marsyangdi as far as Thonje and then branched off to the northeast, reaching Tibet via Larkya. Any possible route through Nyishang involved contending with an additional 17,500'-plus pass at Thorong and consequently the valley was customarily by-passed. Moreover, the fact that these trade routes were controlled by neighbors of the Nyishang people, the Thakali subba lineage of Tukuche and the Gurung subba lineage of Ghanpokhara respectively, further limited the possibilities for involvement by the Nyishang people (see Messerschmidt and Gurung 1974).

Within the recall of oral history is the past half century of itinerant trade. For summary purposes, the development of trade in this period may be considered in decade-long periods. In the 1940's, Shillong (Assam) was the major trading base for the entire trading community. Household members electing not to remain in Nyishang year-round would travel overland to the border crossing at Birgunj, continue by train from the railhead at Raxaul to Gauhati, finally reaching Shillong by bus. From Shillong, trading groups (*tshong roo*) of adult males would make short trading forays into nearby areas such as the Naga Hills. In villages and bazaars of the area, they would trade a variety of commodities, most of which had been brought by traders from Nyishang. These included local roots and herbs (e.g. - N: nirmansi, pakhanbet, silajit, ban lasun), animal parts and products (e.g. musk pods, yak tails, wool products) and miscellaneous items such as the bark of birch trees used as a platter at caste feasts and for insulating the lids of rice pots. While the adult men traded, women and children remained in Shillong; adolescent boys could find work there on a daily basis gathering wood or pine cones for fuel or pounding stones into pebbles for road construction. In all but a few cases, traders and their family members would return to Nyishang slightly before the planting season in late May and would remain there until after harvest in October. Profits were slight and it appears that trading ventures were as important for the fact that they reduced pressure on limited supplies of household grain in Nyishang as for the fact that they returned cash profits to the household.

In the 1950's, the importance of Shillong as a trading base declined as traders scattered to more distant locales. Shillong still retained

some importance as a reliable source for procuring documentation necessary for international travel, as a starting point for several overland routes to Burma, and as a locale for familiar trade. Increasingly, however, Calcutta came to supplant Shillong as a trading base. A tradition of residence was established in one of the neighbourhood bazaars, travel documentation was procured from a nearby government office, and steamship connections to Rangoon, Penang, and Singapore were available through Calcutta port. As Calcutta's importance increased, so did the importance of goods from the city's bazaars in the inventories of Nyishang traders. To the traditional items of trade, items of exotic jewellery such as tiger claws and more ordinary items such as bangles and inexpensive gemstones were added. Traders travelled by steamship with these goods to Burma and the British colony of Malaya. A less travelled and more far-flung route connected Singapore and Kuching (Sarawak). In all of these locations, the practice of itinerant trade through villages and bazaars was followed. Profits of 2-3,000 rupees, earned through six months of continuous hawking -- seven day weeks of eighteen hour working days were common -- and returned to Nepal through a system of bank deposits and drafts were considered large.

In the 1960's, Nyishang trade continued to expand in scope and profitability. After Thai Airways established a direct connection between Kathmandu and Bangkok in 1968, Nyishang trade became firmly established in Thailand where it catered to both tourists and military personnel. The trading base in Thailand, where several traders leased houses, also put Hong Kong in easy reach by air. Commodities of trade varied somewhat during this period, as more emphasis was placed on ritual curios from Kathmandu and on gems and rings from Udayapur and Calcutta; however, like the successive adaptations to railway, steamship and air travel, such changes in inventory represented a basic continuity with past practice. The most radical change during this period was in the profits realized through thoroughly traditional items of trade. As Chinese pharmacies in Hong Kong and Singapore came to replace the village bazaars of north India as the principle market for items such as musk⁶, profits increased by as much as one hundred fold over the levels of the previous decade. These increases in profits allowed some members of the community to establish the first permanent residences in Kathmandu during the early years of the decade.

This rapid expansion in capital resources also made possible trade developments which have characterized trade since 1970. In the simplest terms, these developments are: (1) increased investment in high-value, low-bulk merchandise such as electronic goods (purchased in duty-free markets and transported back for resale in the restricted domestic market) and, in some cases, gold (see newspapers of Jan 20, 1982); (2) a more general sharing of the dramatically expanded profit margins realized by some traders in the 1960's; and (3) marked increase in the number of year-long absences from Nyishang for trading purposes. While some trading groups (*tshong roo*) were able to profit substantially from these trends, many others had neither the capital resources nor other advantages necessary for such success.

This thumbnail sketch of the development of Nyishang trade makes possible consideration of at least its most prominent elements of continuity and discontinuity. Most strikingly, the traditional character of Nyishang trade as a highly mobile and adaptive system of barter is evident in all of its phases. Continuities are apparent generally in rapid adaptation to a variety of forms of transportation, in the organization of trading groups, and in choice of trade items which have long included both luxury and proscribed goods. Continuity is also apparent in a number of highly specific practices. The sidewalk displays of merchandise which traders now set up in the bazaars of Singapore are no different, except in the commodities displayed, than those which traders in the 1950's set up in Burma and Malaya (photos of these latter displays can still be seen in many village houses, customarily mounted near the entrance to the hearth room (*thin*) or in the shrine room (*chee khang*)). Similarly, the Archery Festival (*mi-thaa prenba*, 'arrow-target shooting') first organized on a village basis for Nyishangte Kathmandu residents in the early 1980's has, as precedent, an identical form of celebration practiced among residents of Shillong forty years earlier.

The elements of discontinuity over this period can mostly be reduced to variations in the routes followed and commodities traded, increases in profits and capital resources available, and changes in the annual duration of trading activities. None of these represent fundamental alterations of the nature of entrepreneurial activity or its organization; instead, as responses to changing circumstances, they represent the reflexes of on-going entrepreneurial adaptation. The most significant discontinuity over this period is the recent reversal in the established flow and counterflow of goods and cash across Nepal's borders.

To avoid distorting the understanding of change during this period, it is important to draw attention to one element of change in particular -- the dramatic increase in profits. Most obviously, the impact of this change can be seen in the increasingly capital-intensive nature of trade commodities and in the greater prevalence of year-round trade activity during recent years. A less apparent consequence of this change has been the emergence of class-based difference between those households no longer dependent upon agriculture and herding in the Nyishang valley and those still reliant to some degree on those pursuits. The emergence of such distinctions in a community where egalitarianism is deeply rooted in institutional organization as well as in traditional attitudes has been acutely divisive. In its most common expression, these distinctions are formulated as an opposition between village traditions and modern urban life; in fact, it is as symbols of a more basic crisis of egalitarian values that they loom large. As typified by the history of their trading activity, the crucial element of recent adaptation for urban and village residents alike, is its continuities with past traditions.

Status Emulation and Its Vicissitudes

If patterns of economic adaptation among the Thakali and Nyishang people both reveal basic elements of continuity, the course of recent religious change in the two communities reveals great contrasts. Yet

consideration of recent religious change as it relates to the Thakali experience is inviting for a number of reasons. For one thing, there is a basis for meaningful comparison in that the groups are local to the same general area; are of comparably small scale; and share a variety of cultural traditions in common. The Nyishang valley is separated from the Thakali homeland in the Thak Khola by only a one-day strenuous walk over the Thorong La. In population, neither group ranks among the larger ethnic populations of Nepal: while the Thakali probably number less than 12,000 (Messerschmidt 1982:265), the Nyishang community is roughly half of this size. In matters of cultural traditions, the clearest evidence of affinity is language, mutually intelligible varieties of which are native to the two groups⁷. Other evidence of shared traditions includes a common stratum of pre-Buddhist belief revealed, for instance, in a three-year cycle of festival sacrifice, called Paten in Nyishang, which was formerly celebrated in Nyishang, Nar-Phu, and the Thak Khola in the course of each cycle.

More important than the mere possibility of comparison are the ends it serves. The significance of comparing recent religious change among the Thakali and Nyishangte is that it provides perhaps the best instance currently available for understanding processes of status emulation in Nepal. Both groups have experienced the effects of unprecedented profits on traditionally subsistence-level economics and both groups have experienced social changes related to that influx of cash. As Furer-Haimendorf phrased it in particular reference to the Thakali, it is not unnatural under these conditions that groups should strive "to attain a social status commensurate with their prominent economic position" (1967:197-8). What distinguishes the two cases, and makes for interesting comparison, is the fact that these processes of change occurred at different times and under fundamentally different conditions. The period during which large amounts of wealth were first accumulated within elite sections of the Thakali community extends from 1862 to 1928 (Furer-Haimendorf 1975: 143-6). During this period, the Rana court in Kathmandu strictly upheld Hindu traditions, enforcing a system of law, the Muluki Ain, which subordinated the rights on non-Hindu groups in a legal hierarchy of group-specific rights and privileges (Höfer 1979; Sharma 1982/3). By way of contrast, the rapid rise in economic fortunes of the Nyishang people occurred after 1960. A decade prior to this, the Shah Kings had regained power from the Ranas. While maintaining Nepal's constitutional status as a Hindu Kingdom, the Shah Kings have brought about fundamental changes in governmental policy toward non-Hindu groups (Rose & Scholz 1980:83,85). One indication of this is the fact that the Rana Muluki Ain was replaced in 1962 with a new system of law which makes no reference to caste or tribe (N: jat) as a criterion of legal rights.

The similarity of Thakali and Nyishangte economic fortunes taken together with the dissimilarity of the social environments in which their wealth was realized throws light on the ways in which groups attempt to raise their social status in Nepal. Thakali religious change from Buddhism to Hinduism and scientific atheism has generally been interpreted in terms of attempts "to accommodate to the dominant status hierarchy of the Hindu population" (Messerschmidt 1982:270). Among the Thakali,

status emulation of this type had been frequently described as 'Sanskritization' or 'Hinduization' (Iijima 1963:48; Bista 1966:59; also see Manzardo 1978:173), though the terms are clearly inappropriate in reference to scientific atheism⁸. These descriptions are based on Srinivas' definition of Sanskritization as "the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual ideology and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, 'twice-born' caste" (Srinivas 1966:6).

Before turning to consideration of recent religious change among the Nyishangte for the light it throws on these issues, it is necessary to dispose of an obfuscating point. The claim of the Nyishangte people to Gurung identity is widely known through the use of the surname 'Gurung' within the group. In the lowlands of Nepal, this claim is generally rejected out of hand on the basis of obvious cultural similarities between Nyishangte and groups of Tibetan culture (N: bhotiya). It is less widely known, however, that the Nyishang language is a dialect of Gurung (Glover 1980:73-4). If identity is to be decided on the basis of culture, how is one to weigh between linguistic affinities linking the Nyishang people with Gurungs and affinities of cultural lifestyle linking them with Bhotiyas? The question itself brings us back to a point raised earlier: the paradigm of social -- and I would add here 'ethnic' -- change which has guided anthropological thinking since the work of Leach and Barth has not yet been fully applied to the study of change in Himalayan societies. From the perspective of this paradigm, the question just posed is simply not relevant. Identity is not determined by degree of cultural affinity but by processes of social interaction and boundary maintenance (Barth 1969). From an interactional perspective, the people of Nyishang are an integral ethnic group, socially-bounded from both Gurungs and Bhotiya populations. In this light, the claim of Gurung status should be seen as relevant in only a restricted number of categorical contexts. In these limited contexts, the claim of Gurung identity has as much validity as the counter-claim of Bhotiya identity.

In contrast to the Thakali experience, the rise to wealth of the Nyishang people has been associated with a strengthening of Buddhist practice, at least in its outward and material manifestations. The clearest evidence of this is seen in individual religious patronage, in community religious projects, and in attendance at institutions of Buddhist learning. Increase in the scale of Buddhist patronage by individuals is indicated most dramatically by a series of 'offering rites' (*tshok puja* and *tongjee*) sponsored by village households in the summer of 1981 and 1982, respectively. For the performance of the first series of these rites, a prominent Karmapa Rinpoche from India, accompanied by two lamas, was flown to Jomsom and then brought by horse-back to Nyishang. For the second series, one of the four 'jewels' (*Tulku*, 'incarnations') of the Karmapa Kamtshang (see Thinley 1980:24) was flown to the valley with a larger retinue. Transportation expenses were pooled among the sponsoring households; expenses for a single household, including a share of transportation expenses and the cost of sponsorship of a rite, were as high as Rs 40,000. The observance of these rites was unprecedented, in terms of both the ritual rank of the officiants and of cost, in Nyishang.

Another instance of religious patronage, though undertaken by the community as a whole rather than by individuals, is afforded by a series of Buddhist construction projects in Swayambhu, Kathmandu. These include an entrance gate (*khoo*) to the temple complex and an adjacent bank of prayer wheels (*mantang*); there is also a nearby crematorium complex (*tore*) and, to the southwest, the 'Manangi gompá' (*pashongri kompa*). The last of these projects alone cost 13 lakh (approx. US\$ 70,000) excluding the cost of land which was donated. Funds for its construction, undertaken from 1983 through 1984, were raised entirely by community subscription with a few individual donations as high as 1.25 lakh. Although this is the largest single religious project undertaken by the community to date, similar projects have been undertaken in Pokhara and elsewhere in recent years.

In institutes of Buddhist learning Nyishang enrollment has increased sharply in the past two decades. While direct affiliation with Buddhist institutes outside the Nyishang valley was virtually non-existent twenty years ago, enrollment is now high numerically and widespread geographically. The dispersion of these institutes as far afield as Dehra Dun and Darjeeling makes precise enumeration of Nyishangte enrollment difficult but there are at least one hundred young novices (*Taba*) aged between 6 and 12 studying at Buddhist establishments in Kathmandu and Pokhara alone. In addition to these younger students, there are also a small number of advanced students (aged 15-25) at the Shri Karma Nalanda Institute of Higher Studies in Bumtek (Sikkim).

While these changes indicate an overall increase in the scale of Buddhist observance in recent years, the changes have not been uniform in rural and urban locales. While there is evidence that the scale of patronage, both individual and community, has increased in both locales, rising enrollment in institutes of Buddhist learning has occurred at the expense of traditional forms of religious organization in the Nyishang valley. By traditional village custom, the second of three sons born in a single household was expected to join his village gompá as a novice. This association only rarely entailed formal instruction; it was primarily a system of 'labor recruitment' for gompá activities. The recent practice of enrolling novices in institutes of Buddhist learning outside the valley coupled with the opportunities for trade which induce some novices to relinquish formally their status has led to a decline in this system. In the summer of 1985, less than fifteen of the seventy-five individuals who still retain formal status as novices in the villages of Manang and Braga were resident in the valley. The related system of nunnery (*jomo, jomo srol*) in the Nyishang valley, which involves significantly fewer numbers of initiants, has been less adversely affected.

Although the religious changes associated with the Thakali's rise to wealth could very plausibly be described as an instance of Sanskritization, this is clearly not the case for recent religious change among the people of Nyishang. To be sure, differences in the historical context within which Thakali and Nyishangte social change occurred account in some part for the different courses of religious change. The replacement of a constitution which defined rights and duties according to the norms

of the Hindu caste system, adoption by the Shah Kings of humane policies -- of cultural and religious pluralism, and many other related changes have all tended to reduce pressure towards Hindu conformity. Likewise, differences in the organizational basis of change in the two cases -- mediated by a single dominant family with the Thakali (Furer-Haimendorf 1975:145) and channeled more diffusely by traditions of group egalitarianism, leadership rotation, and redistribution of wealth among the Nyishang people -- helps explain some of the difference in terms of the key role of elites in Sanskritization (Srinivas 1966:46-88). Yet the compelling question of the comparison remains unanswered. Since the dominant status hierarchy of Nepal remains strongly Hindu, shouldn't some accommodation with Hindu norms be expected to accompany a dramatic rise in economic status? If, in fact, religious change indicates a contrary trend, shouldn't other models of social change be added to the theoretical repertoire of social change in Nepal?

Recent religious change among the people of Nyishang suggests that a dynamic of ethnic mobility within the relatively fluid status hierarchy of Nepal is in certain instances a more appropriate model than the process of Sanskritization with its conceptual links to the more rigid caste system of India. The Sanskritization model involves a fixed hierarchy of birth-ascribed status in which, under certain conditions, a group is able to raise its position. The status hierarchy of Nepal, though at one time tied to a legislated version of a somewhat similar fixed hierarchy, can operate more fluidly according to cultural criteria. One area of relevance for this distinction is in the interpretation of status claims of the type widely reported in Nepalese ethnography (Furer-Haimendorf 1975: 152, 204; Furer-Haimendorf (ed) 1981:17,22; Fisher (ed) 1978:11,50 -- to cite only three standard works). To take an example a case previously introduced, the claim of the Nyishang people to Gurung status is at least as much a manipulation of ambiguity in culturally-defined identity as it is sleight-of-hand raising of status between fixed and separate birth ascribed groups.

The relative fluidity of status claims in Nepal is also indicated by another instance involving the people of Nyishang. In its ethnic sense, the Nepali term 'Manangi' is used to designate the socially-bounded population of the Nyishang valley. However, the term also has a more comprehensive geographic sense which comprises the district (N: jilla) of Manang, an administrative unit in which the people of Nyishang are only one of several population groups. As the economic position of the Nyishangte has improved, it has become increasingly common for individuals who are 'Manangi' in only a geographic sense to exploit the ambiguity in the term to create, in certain interactional contexts, the impression of ethnic membership within the Nyishangte. Like the Nyishang people's own claim to Gurung membership, this is simply a manipulation of cultural definitions of identity, a process related to but distinct from the movement of caste groups within a fixed hierarchy.

NOTES

1. I follow Messerschmidt's usage in using the term "Thakali" to

refer to the Tamhaang and Paunchgaunle subgroups of the Thak Khola.

2. The people of Nyishang, more commonly 'Manangi', inhabit the Nyishang valley of Manang District (Gandaki Zone). Use of the terms 'Manangi' and 'Nyeshangba' has been discarded in favour of the more ethnically neutral and ethnographically accurate term 'the people of Nyishang' (*Nyishangte*). The transliteration 'Nyishang' is based on the phonetics of the Nyishang language as currently spoken rather than on conventions of Tibetan orthography (*Nyeshang*).
3. While over 130 works on the Thakali have been published in Nepali and Western languages (see Vinding and Bhattachan 1985), there is little in print which makes more than a passing reference to the people of Nyishang. The most notable works dealing with Nyishangte society are an unpublished M.A. dissertation by Nareshwar Jang Gurung (1975), and a published article by the same author (N. Gurung 1976).
4. As discussed later in the article, the period during which wealth was rapidly amassed within some sections of the Thakali community dates from 1862 to 1928 while the rapid increases in wealth within the Nyishang community came after 1960. The extensivity of wealth is taken here to include both the total wealth of individual households and the distribution of wealth throughout the community; the comparative judgement as to the extensivity of Nyishang and Thakali wealth is based on casual comparison of land-holdings and fixed property in Kathmandu and on household income in the village locales.
5. A full treatment of these historical documents is contained in Chapter 6 of the author's Ph.D. dissertation *The People Nyishang: Tradition and Change Along the Nepal-Tibet Border*. A monograph on the subject of the history of Nyishang international trade is currently under preparation.
6. Export of anatomical parts of the musk deer was prohibited by the 1956 Export and Import (Control) Act and by the 1958 Wild Life Protection Act. Musk deer were removed from the schedule of protected species on April 9, 1962 and returned to the schedule on October 13, 1969.
7. There is some reason to speculate that the term by which the Nyishang people designate their own language, *sar kee*, may be etymologically related to the Tibetan term for the group of languages which includes both the Thakali and Nyishang languages (Tib - *se skad*, pronounced 'se kee'; also see Messerschmidt 1982: 277 and an as yet unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Charles Ramble (1985)).
8. Recent ethnographic research suggests both some degree of oversimplification in previous descriptions of social change among the Thakali and some contemporary resurgence of Buddhism (Messerschmidt

1982:266 and especially Vinding 1982). These issues are analytically distinct -- the first an etic question of ethnographic accuracy and the second an emic question of social reactions to a perceived past -- and, because they are not yet fully sorted out, I have not included them in the present discussion.

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Epigraphy and Society in Ancient Nepal
A Critique of Regmi, 1983

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Cultural influence from the south must have (had) limited influence... The court and the upper strata of society must have been vulnerable to its approaches. But... the mass of humanity at the lower reaches... remained by and large animist.

Even today some aspects of the life of a section of the old settlers betray signs of animistic practices.

D.R.Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, 1969:82

Dilli Raman Regmi (b. 1913) has been in the field of Nepalese history for some four decades. In 1942, he published a short paper on "Sources for a History of Nepal 880-1680," (*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol 28, pp. 31-36). In July 1983, the 3-volume *Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal* was published. In between he had published *A Century of Family Autocracy in Nepal* (1950), *Ancient and Medieval Nepal* (1952), *Ancient Nepal* (1960), *Medieval Nepal Vols I-III* (1965), and *Medieval Nepal Vol IV* (1966), *Ancient Nepal* (1969), *Modern Nepal Vol I* (1975), and *Modern Nepal Vol II* (1975). By any standard, Regmi's corpus of published works is quite impressive, and the span of his coverage, extensive. Because he is almost alone among Nepali historians to publish in English he is rather like the 19th-century chronicle edited by Residency-Surgeon Daniel Wright--the only one familiar to the scholarly world outside Nepal. Even otherwise Regmi's achievements seem staggering in the volume of work accomplished, particularly because, as his publisher puts it, he has been "half in politics and half in scholarship". Had he devoted himself fully to the world of scholarship----"so much deeply rooted" as it is "in his genius", it would have been somewhat difficult to guess the volume of its output in the last 40 years.

Regmi's work as well as his reputation is imposing, covering all the three fields of Nepalese historiography--ancient, medieval, and modern Nepal. In the last 30 years, Regmi's work on ancient Nepal in particular has undergone three revisions. We have the 1952, the 1960, the 1969, and the latest 1983 version. One secure way to approach Regmi's work would seem to be to assess his latest, i.e., the most finished, product. At the same time, in the words of the publisher, his *Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal* is "the latest attempt at compiling and editing of inscriptional source materials"--the most important source for the history of ancient Nepal.

Thus it is with some trepidation as well as unalloyed hope of unearthing the vintage Regmi that we have, in this detailed review article, decided to analyse his latest publication. As only three out of the projected four volumes have actually been published--the promised volume "exclusively devoted to socio-economic conditions of ancient Nepal" is not yet in sight even two and a half years later--the work remains hypothetically incomplete. We can, however, guess the shape of the things to come on the basis of the available three volumes.

Comentators on ancient inscriptions of Nepal have offered confusing interpretations reading much of their own meaning into the text of the inscriptions. A wholesome feature of this book is the stance Regmi has taken in his analysis and interpretation of certain inscriptions. For example, he refuses to identify the literal meaning of an inscription with its historical meaning:

I am not explaining the significance of the passages in terms of their literal meaning, which could be misleading from a historical point of view.

(Regmi, 1983:35)

The best examples of Regmi's critical stance are his analysis and interpretation of the panegyrics of Mānadeva I and Jayadeve II (Inscription Nos. I and CXLII). The analysis of Jayadeva II's panegyric, particularly its poetry, is a noteworthy example of the historian at his desk-work. Regmi comments

The inscription is so exaggerated that it amounts to gross falsification of historical truth (i.e., the offer of a silver lotus with eight petals to Paśupati by Jayadeva's mother Vatsadevi--KPM.).

(Regmi, 1983:237)

In course of the analysis of both the panegyrics, Regmi raises a number of important questions which are relevant to the study of the political history of ancient Nepal. The fact that a certain detail occurs in an inscription does not necessarily insure its historicity. Inscriptions are somewhat like the editorials in the *Gorkhāpatra*: they are *commissioned* to fulfil certain persuasive-communicative functions. They are the ancient versions of the presentday media. Regmi, therefore, attempts to verify every detail and refuses to take the claims of the composers of the inscriptions at their face value. At times he takes his approach to an *ad absurdum* limits, resulting in such embarrassingly naive commentary as the following:

Our inscriptions shower praise upon praise on Mānadeva for his munificence, his fatherly attitude to his subjects, his desire to serve the people with mercy and high sense of polity. But we do not know if Mānadeva or any other king could have abandoned autocratic feudal habits and behaviour to earn these epithets. By the very nature of institution the monarch becomes a dictator.

(Regmi, 1983: 35; 39:)

Regmi's contribution in this work lies in his attempt to study ancient inscriptions of Nepal in the light of Indian texts--contemporary Indian inscriptions in general and Indian classical *dharmaśāstra* texts in particular. This is at once the strength as well as the major weakness of the work. In his discussion of the broad features of the inscriptions (pp. 2-6), he clearly brings out the common features among the Licchavi inscriptions of Nepal and the Indian inscriptions issued by the Guptas. Not only the script (later Brāhmī or Gupta), the language (classical Sanskrit), the idiom and diction (pious, florid and high-flown), but also several conventions and 'technical terminology' are common. Regmi also singles out some local features of Nepalese inscriptions (e.g., the absence of elaborate royal genealogies). Neither Vajrācārya's edition (1973) nor Joshi's edition (1974) brings out the broad general features of the inscriptions into such clear relief against the Indian context.

Regmi's backdrop of Indian epigraphy and classical texts is also one of the most misleading components of the work. The Nepalese historian of necessity needs to refer to these sources primarily for two purposes: 1. to trace the sources of the terms and concepts; 2. to define as precisely as possible the semantics of these items of epigraphic vocabulary. More often than not, Regmi is carried away by the course of his learned references to Indian epigraphy or classical texts. Topics which could have been briefly and precisely dealt with or defined in a one-sentence glossary or one passage commentary, preoccupies Regmi for five tightly printed quarto pages. Numerous so-called "technical terms" can be relegated to a concise glossary with a one-line definition. The greatest disappointment in this verbose and pedantic exercise of Regmi's tends to come when, after 5 pages of long-winded digression into Indian inscriptions and texts he does not add much to our understanding of the meaning or function of the particular term or terms in the Nepalese context. He finds himself a little helpless whenever he is faced with "technical terms" not available in the corpus of Indian epigraphy, and unfortunately there are dozens of such words in Nepalese epigraphy whose precise historical meaning is always debatable even though they are Sanskrit (e.g., *trikara*, *hiraṇya*, *bhūmi*, *mānika*, *draṅga*, *aṣṭādaśaprakṛti*).

We must, nevertheless, be grateful to Regmi for the facsimile plates of the inscriptions which have come out so clearly for the first time. Some of the plates are admirable in the quality of reproduction and legibility, whereas others are not as good, particularly because of the ratio of reduction in size. At any rate, the plates are decidedly better than Raniero Gnoli's *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters* (Rome, 1956), or Hari Ram Joshi's edition (1974) in which few plates are usable. Regmi's plates clearly show two preponderant physical features of ancient inscriptions of Nepal. Most of the inscriptions are badly damaged--some deliberate acts and others due to wear and tear of time. Secondly, nearly half of the extant inscriptions are mere short and fragmentary pious deeds of grant. The remaining 70-80 inscriptions are, unfortunately, not evenly distributed in time. Because of their damaged and ill-preserved condition, the surviving inscriptions are not read uniformly by epigraphists. To give one brilliant example, take Regmi's inscription No CLX (Vol I: p.162). Gnoli read the date as 172 and the name of the

as Śivadeva; Vajrācārya read the date as 271 and the name of the king as Baladeva; Joshi merely copied Gnoli; Mohan Khanal (1984) reads the date as 172, but the name of the king as Śaṅkaradeva; Regmi reads the date as 271 but the name of the king as Baradeva !

Regmi has listed some of the variant readings from Bhagawānlāl Indrājī (1880), Cecil Bendall (1886), Sylvain Lévi (1908), Gnoli (1956), Vajrācārya (1973) and Joshi (1974). He repeatedly claims that he has improved upon the readings, commentary and translation by Vajrācārya. This claim needs to be verified by more competent authorities than this reviewer, particularly by epigraphists and Sanskritists who have been in the field for some time. But even a casual scrutiny of the first 17 inscriptions has revealed that Regmi's Sanskrit texts are studded with glaring errors, particularly in word-compounding and numerals and that his "Corrigenda and Addenda to Vol I" (pp. 187-190) represents just about 10% of the actual errors in the Devanāgarī transcription of Sanskrit text of the 17 inscriptions. Reviewing the book recently in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, a young Nepali scholar has commented that there are more than fifty mistakes in Regmi's transcription of Mānadeva I's Cāṅgu Inscription in Vol I, and that his English translation in Vol II does not appear to be from the original Sanskrit version. (G. Vajrācārya, 1985: 652-653).

Exactitude is a hallmark of sound scholarship, but unfortunately not of Regmi's so far. In a six-page Preface (p. v-x), he has given six publication-dates and details of the most well-known publications on ancient Nepalese history, and all of them are wrong. For example,

<u>Publication</u>	<u>Date according to Regmi</u>	<u>Correct Date</u>
Bhagawānlāl Indrājī	1888	1880
Lévi, Vol. III	1902	1908
Shastri Vol II	1906	1916
Gnoli	1958	1956
No. of Inscriptions in Gnoli	92	89
Vajrācārya	1977	1973

Regmi's documentation is a perfect mess so that with the help his "References" or "Bibliography" it is impossible to trace anything. Apart from the 4-page "Corrigenda and Addenda" to Vol I, 5-page "Corrigenda and Addenda" to Vol II, and 1-page "Addenda" to Vol III, there are white paints and pasted strips used on page 273 (Vol III). What finally shattered this reviewer is the four-page mimeographed "Supplement to the Vol III: Errata and Addenda," dated July 1, 1983, which begins with the following disclaimer:

The printing of the 3rd volume was handled throughout solely by the publisher and his proof reader in Delhi. Therefore, it is natural that some mistakes should occur here and there in the circumstances.

The supplement ends with

I have not gone through the book deeply and minutely...
But there might be many more errors.

Notwithstanding the alleged breakdown of communication between the author and the publisher, we must admire Regmi's intellectual stamina as well as his moral courage to publish a work such as *this* after forty years' devotion to the field of Nepalese history.

Regmi's Model and Approach

The errors of fact, style, idiom, and syntax are so extensive in the book that it would be a meaningless exercise (for anyone but Regmi) to discuss them here. The review will, therefore, ignore these trivialities and focus on Regmi's approach to epigraphic data. It is almost clear from his mimeographed "Supplement" that Regmi's work does not seem to have any conceptual framework other than the most rudimentary one of political chronology (i.e., the Age of X followed by the Age of Y, and the Restoration of Z, etc.). Consequently, Regmi--in his inscription-by-inscription analysis and interpretation of the total corpus of ancient Nepalese epigraphy--fails to see the wood for the trees. He follows the Vajrācārya (1973) model so closely that he takes the same or similar approach to the epigraphic data. As a result, no complete picture of the social, cultural, economic, and political system emerges; we see no trace of a society or culture in evolution or in the process of growth or change for four hundred years. No society or culture stays static for four centuries; at least, Licchavi records show that their's did not.

Regmi focuses on political history. In Licchavi records, it is not a fruitful focus because not much really happens in terms of war, conquest, or dynastic power struggles. What little political history of the Licchavi period we know is based on the Chinese and Tibetan sources. In the whole corpus of some 190 odd Sanskrit inscriptions there is not one single detail comparable to the notices on Nepal recorded in the T'ang Annals. In the directness of the representation of the datum of political history, there is nothing in Sanskrit inscriptions of Nepal which can compare with the following single line entry in the Tun-huang Annals for the year A.D. 641: (Bacot et al., 1946: 13)

bal po yu sna kug ti bkum na ri ba ba rgyal phor bchug

Nepal's Viṣṇugupta was killed [in the battle by]
Narendradeva [who was] proclaimed/chosen the King.

Or the following notices in the T'ang Annals about Narendradeva:

The father of Naling-ti-po was deposed (put to death-New T'ang Annals) by his younger brother (rebellious usurper-- New T'ang Annals); Naling-ti-po had to escape from his uncle. Tu'fan (Tibet) gave him refuge and re-established him on his throne; he became in consequence its vassal.

(Lévi, 1905:I:164-165)

Regmi follows the Vajrācārya-model so closely that even the sum-total of the sub-headings of the two books shows disturbing family resemblances. Yet Regmi's relations with Vajrācārya's work is one of "love-hate". He questions and criticises several elements of Vajrācārya's interpretation. A number of them are quite valid (e.g., on *aṣṭādaśaprakṛti*, on *Aṃśuvarma*-Gupta relations). However, too often Regmi merely adopts polemical postures--referring to Vajrācārya as "one (*sic*) writer"--raising inconsequential questions. In his efforts to outdo Vajrācārya, Regmi goes on to refer to more Indian inscriptions or more Indian classical texts than Vajrācārya has done, trying to show relentlessly that Regmi is more learned in the Indian lore than Vajrācārya. The net result of this pursuit to outbid Vajrācārya in his own game, is that Regmi has produced an interpretation of ancient Nepalese society and culture which is more Hinduised, more Brahminical, more Sanskritic than any Brahminical history of the Āryāvarta itself ! Regmi's reading of Nepalese inscriptions is so India-centric that one often wonders whether he even remembers that he is reading Nepalese--and not Indian--inscriptions. The historian appears to forget the fundamental facts of Nepal's social history, i.e., even after the two millennia of Hindu penetration into the Himalayas, the foundations of Nepalese society are at least 27% tribal. Such a mistake can easily be committed by any scholar who is so thoroughly soaked in the Indian classical texts--as Regmi obviously seems to be. Or it can be made by those scholars who--by accident or by design--ignore current research on anthropology, sociology, and above all, on non-Indo-Aryan comparative linguistics. No one who is even remotely familiar with some of the work done on Nepal in the above fields would have ignored, as Regmi has done in this work, the social, cultural, and economic context of the epigraphic texts.

In this paper we focus on some of the key issues in the interpretation of the epigraphic data. To begin with, we would like to give a few preliminary details concerning the data as such. The total corpus of ancient Nepalese epigraphy consists of some 189 inscriptions in Sanskrit in Gupta characters--almost all inscribed on stone. They fall into five main categories: 1. Royal Edicts--total 85, nearly half of them belonging to 31 years of Śivadeva-Aṃśuvarma period (A.D. 590-621); 2. Short Inscriptions, consecrating cult-objects, water-conduits, wells and tanks--total 65; 3. Short Inscriptions with dates and/or names of the donors--total 34; 4. Verses in praise of given Hindu-Buddhist sects by their votaries--total 8; and 5. Panegyrics--total 2. Geographically, the inscriptions are concentrated in Kathmandu (44), Patan (19), Thānkoṭ-Balambū (19), Sānkhu (7), Bhaktapur (3), Tistūṅ-Citlāṅg (5), Pharpīṅg (3), Gorkhā (2), and one each in the following settlements outside the Valley: Lele, Nuwākoṭ, Kewalpur, Sāṅgā, Nālā, Banepā, Khopāsī, Palāñcoka, and Dumjā.

Chronology: Limited Data and Multiple Variables

Of the several issues of interpretation of the epigraphic data, the very first one is that of chronology - an issue which Regmi takes up in confusing sections on "the Astronomical Data in the Inscriptions" (pp. 22-23; pp. 265-270). To formulate the debatable issues in brief, there

are two sets of dates used in the inscriptions: the first set begins from an unnamed era year 386 and ends with 535. The second set begins from another unnamed era year 29 and ends with 301. By the general consensus of knowledgeable opinions the first set is assigned to Śaka Era (founded in A.D. 78) and the second set to Mānadeva Era (founded in A.D. 576). The problems of chronology are complicated by two main factors:

1. Limited nature of the data: out of the total 56 dated inscriptions in the Śaka era-set there are only 7 inscriptions with intercalated dates but none with the day of the week. Out of the total 54 dated inscriptions in the Mānadeva era-set there are only 3 inscriptions with intercalated dates, only two of them with the day of the week.
2. The intercalated months in all the 10 inscriptions are either Āṣāḍha or Pauṣa. In Hindu calendar there is a difference of more than 10 days between a solar year and a lunar year so that every 3 years there are 33 days' difference between the lunar and solar years. Intercalation is adding an extra month in the lunar year to adjust with the solar year so that seasonal festivals fall in appropriate seasons. However, there are at least 5 variables involved in the intercalated dates:
 - a. Whether the year began in the month of Caitra or in the month of Kārttika;--
 - b. Whether the lunar month began with the full moon (*āmānta*), or with the new moon (*pūrṇimānta*);
 - c. Whether the intercalated months were computed according to Sūrya Siddhānta, (revealed by Sūrya to Asura Māyā in Romaka (!) ca. AD 505 ?), or Brahma Siddhānta, (founded in AD 628), or Ārya Siddhānta (founded in AD 499).
 - d. If the Sūrya Siddhānta was the one in use, whether the calculations were according to the true (*spaṣṭa*), or the mean (*madhyama*) motions of the sun and the moon;
 - e. Whether the Nārada system or the Bhāradvāja system was followed; for Nārada the half years begin with the equinoxes and for Bhāradvāja with the solstices.

As far as current research has been able to determine, the calendar followed in ancient Nepal was *Kārttikādi āmānta*, i.e., the calendar year began with the month of Kārttika (ca. last week of October-first week of November), and the months ended with the new moon. Only two months were intercalated: Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa. According to Petech's [1984:13-20] latest findings based on meticulous computation of 45 intercalated dates from NS 132-574, the medieval calendar works neither with Nārada nor with Bhāradvāja system, but with a year beginning with *Mārgaśīrṣa*. Reckoning with *Agrahāyana* for the purposes of intercalation is not followed in any of the historical eras current in India. Nepal has preferred to use local

eras at least twice--the Mānadeva Era and the Nepāla Era (founded on October 20, 879). There is so far no convincing cultural or political argument why Nepal's ruling elite should have used the pan-Indian Śaka Era in the first set of inscriptions.

The only *firm* dates of ancient Nepalese chronology are the three dates recorded in the Chinese sources. Without them the Licchavi chronology would have been somewhat like a ship with no anchor. In 641, the Tibetans helped Narendradeva to overthrow the usurper Viṣṇugupta, restoring the Licchavis to the Nepalese throne. In A.D. 648 the Tibetans sought and obtained Nepalese collaboration in their support for the imperial ambassador Wang Hsüan-tsê, who had been robbed and whose escort had been massacred in Tirhut. The Chinese notices on Nepal close with the mission despatched by Narendradeva to the Chinese court in A.D. 651 as a diplomatic gesture. The available dates for Narendradeva in Nepalese inscriptions range from the year 67-103 whereas those of Viṣṇugupta extend up to 65 Phālguna Śukla Dvitiyā. So any time during the gap of 22 months between this date and 67 Pauṣa Śukla Pañcamī, the usurper Viṣṇugupta must have been overthrown by Narendradeva. Working with an epoch era beginning from October 20, 576 scholars calculate the chronology of the inscriptions dated between the year 29 to 301. However, recently the Japanese Tibetologist Yamaguchi, working on the Tibetan materials, found that the epoch era began in A.D. 572, not in A.D. 576-- adding one further complication of a 4-year variable (Yamaguchi, 1978:29-57).

Thus the chronology of ancient Nepal is complicated because the available data are limited and the variables involved in the calculations are several. The possible permutations and combinations of the variables to interpret only 3 available dates with the day of the week for a time span of more than four centuries using two unnamed epoch eras, are simply unimaginable. For the time being, we are compelled to take the conventional solution for granted and work by assigning the first set of inscriptions (year 386-535) to Kārttikādi āmānta Śaka era; the second set of inscriptions (year 29-301) to Kārttikādi āmānta Mānadeva era, founded on October 20, 576.

Regmi's treatment of the problems of chronology is, not only confusing, but also inconclusive. His final words are memorably desperate:

In the ultimate analysis it is to be admitted that the problem of verification [of the dates-KPM] falling within the epoch of the Śaka era defies solution.

[Regmi, 1983:276]

The subject of verification is so intricate that there is nothing final to come to satisfactory conclusion in this respect.

[Regmi, 1983:269]

What are the Inscriptions About ?

This paper is based on the hypothesis that the ancient inscriptions of Nepal are about land and income from land, either in the form of grant (royal or philanthropic) or in the form of exemptions and concessions granted by the King in favour of a given settlement or institution--concession in tax, revenue, customs etc. Of the five types of inscriptions, at least the first two comprising some 150 inscriptions are *directly* related to income from land. As Regmi and, for that matter, most Nepalese historians, have ignored the relationship between land and political power, or between culture and income from the land, we would like to investigate how both power and piety of the ruling elite of ancient Nepal were rooted in the surplus income they appropriated from land.

Land was almost invariably owned on communal basis in the tribal societies in Nepal. This mode of landownership persisted during the Shah-Rana period, in fact, right upto 1968 when the communal ownership over land was finally abolished by legal action. In the words of M.C. Regmi,

the Kipat system (communal ownership over land-KPM) in its present form is a relic of the customary land tenure that the Mongolian communities established in the areas occupied by them prior to Indo-Aryan penetration. The politically dominant Indo-Aryans tended to prefer such statutory tenure forms as Birta, as the conflict between these tenure forms and the customary Kipat tenure must inevitably have been decided to the detriment of the latter. It can hardly be an accident that the Kipat system is presently confined to the hill districts of the country, mainly East Nos 1-4, Dhankuta, and Ilam in Eastern Nepal and Palpa, Gulmi, Doti, Dailekh, West No. 1 and West No. 2 in Western Nepal. Moreover, the scope of this system appears to have been much more extensive formerly, for there were Kipat holdings at one time even in Kathmandu Valley.

(M.C. Regmi, 1978:538-539)

Among the Limbūs, Chepāṅgs, Hāyūs, Danuwārs, Putwārs, Thāmīs, Kumhāles, Murmīs, as well as in several pockets of the Nepal Valley communal ownership of land persisted. More than 4% of the total available land in Nepal still belonged to the communal ownership in 1950. A recent paradigm of alienation of tribal land by Hindu immigrants in Limbūwān is investigated and lucidly documented by Caplan (1970). A more or less similar process of slow but steady alienation of communally owned land appears to have taken place in ancient Nepalese society soon after the Licchavis came to power in the Nepal Valley. According to the Hindu traditions as laid down, for example, in classical texts such as Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, the King or State owned all land, not the tribe or the clan, nor the community customarily occupying a territory. The tribal concept of land as territory (not property) held in common by the tribe (temporally symbolised by the chief or headman) was replaced by the Hindu theory that all land belonged to the King who allotted statutory tenure rights to individuals or institutions or communities.

Regmi's treatment of the land system in ancient Nepal is disappointing (pp. 28-30). He does not even bother to ask a number of fundamental questions on landownership, let alone answer them. The fundamental question is: who owned land in ancient Nepal? Apart from the crown lands (*sītā*), royal fields, farms, orchards, and forests owned by the King and his family, there were at least three distinct land-owning classes--the priests (religious and holy men), the members of the nobility, and the trading community. On a close scrutiny of the inscriptions, it is clear that apart from the reigning King, it is the members of these land-holding classes who donated land or income from land for maintaining religious, cultural and philanthropic activities. The King granted land to institutions and religious foundations which were tax-free and administratively autonomous. The King also granted land, instead of salary, to state functionaries (*vṛttibhujah*), probably in the form of conditional land-rights which may have been alienable once the functionary ceases to be on service, more or less like modern *khāngī*. The first cultivator who reclaimed waste land or forests also enjoyed tenure-rights (*bhūmichidra-nyāyā*).

Statutory tenure-rights in land through state grants in favour of the nobility, the priests, the courtiers, the holy men, the army and the royal clan were the cornerstone of social, economic and political framework of a Hindu State in all ages and climes. Income from land constituted the primary source of wealth and political power. Therefore, state control over land and private modes of landownership would have had profound significance in organising the foundations of the Licchavi state, society, and culture. Those who owned land also owned the political power, perhaps, more appropriately, *vice versa*. Except in the case of the direct tillers (i.e., those who tilled, ploughed, harrowed, sowed, weeded and harvested their own land), all cultivated land in ancient Nepal had tenants (*kutumbin-s*). Thus the structure of property relations in land was fundamentally feudal in nature. The tenants paid rent (*piṇḍaka*), be it to the King, his kinsmen, the nobility, the functionaries of the State, the priests or the religious-cultural foundations. Thus the next key question is: what was the *ratio* of the rent to the actual harvest? It seems that the ratios varied from land to land depending upon its fertility and location. If the land is owned by the King, the accepted ratio, at least in classical texts, is one-sixth to one-twelfth--the so-called *ṣaḍbhāga* or simply *bhāga*. If the land is owned by others the rent varied from 40% to 75% of the actual harvest. This structure of property in land is the basic key to ancient Nepalese society and culture, and the ideology underlying both. These inscriptions are the most significant documents to test this hypothesis because they are, in the last analysis, about the royal share, rent and tax--about the righteousness of 'the three just and proper taxes' (*smucitstrikara*). It was the income from land which sustained, not only the religious-cultural institutions and cult objects and rituals, or philanthropic work such as wells, water-tanks, and conduits, but also the political institutions such as the monarchy and the nobility who lived on the toil of the direct producers.

There are a couple of passages in the Chinese notices on Nepal which depicted the pomp, glamour, and high life-style of Nepalese court, repre-

senting the acme of the golden age of Nepalese culture. The economic foundations of Narendradeva's Seat of Lions were none other than the surplus from land, appropriated by the State in the form of revenue, royal share of crops (*bhāga*), periodic supplies (*bhoga*), tax (*kara*), tax in cash (*hiranya*), sales tax, and customs (*śulka*). In addition to these, the State and its officials asked the villagers to do forced portorage in the form of corvée for specified purposes. So the King of Kings, Licchavi Narendradeva's betowered palace and Seat of Lions was erected on the toil and surplus of the direct producers who probably lived in the closed and unpretentious villages in much the same way as the presentday Newar peasants in settlements such as Pāṅgā, Khokanā, Sunākoṭhī, Sāṅgā, Nālā, and Boḍe. At least, in this respect, the ancient inscriptions of Nepal are quite candid: it was because the peasantry was so heavily taxed and burdened that inscription after inscription the royalty considered it a great favour (*prasāda*) to a given village community to grant tax concessions and yet to remind its temporal and spiritual leaders "to continue to pay *samucitstrikerā* (the three just and proper taxes--the royal share of crops, the periodic supplies to the palace, and the taxes in cash and kind).

What has Regmi to comment on this fundamental question? All that he has to say on the land system in ancient Nepal is focussed on the meaning of three words:

As we look into the land grants three words come before us in this connection, and all these three words are the only indications of land measure and a contribution to be paid by the cultivators. These three words are *mānikā*, or *mā*, the grain measure, *bhūmi*, the land measure, and *paṇḍakam*, contribution in paddy or grains... The land system of ancient Nepal is not yet an established fact. The land measure remains unknown and so is the grain measure. The word *piṇḍaka* might be a tax or rent, but it has got to be ascertained.

(Regmi, 1983:28-30)

Obviously, Regmi has built an unshakable confidence on the possibilities of a historical interpretation of the land system of ancient Nepal only when the *quantitative meaning* of the three key words--*bhūmi*, *mānikā*, and *piṇḍaka*-- are finally unlocked by Indian epigraphic glosses. There is nothing more vacuous than this preoccupation with the words.

The Village Community

The 85 inscriptions which are royal charters are almost always addressed to a *specific village community*. So there is some justice in focussing our attention on the village community. It was the fundamentally basic unit of Licchavi social structure and its polity. Nearly 80 years ago, on the basis of his critical analysis of a handful of ancient

inscriptions from Nepal, Lévi had made a perceptive observation in this regard:

In the face of the King and the Court, exposed to the vicissitudes of revolutions which sweep at a time a dynasty and its supporters, the population retains an immutable organisation in its traditional temper. Whether the Thakurīs supercede the Licchavis or the Mallas ascend the throne, whether the sovereign power is in the hands of an emperor or is dispersed among the rival chiefs, the village community (*grāma*) remains always in the eyes of the people the real and only political unit in Nepal as well as in India.

(Lévi, I: 1905:281)

The village community had two main heads: the headman (*pradhāna*), who was a temporal head, and the village priest (*brāhmaṇa*) who was its spiritual head. The headman was in all likelihood, a survival of the tribal chief whereas the village priest may well have been "the tribal priest who borrowed the Brahman's way of life" (Weber, 1958:10). The priest-astrologer determined the periods of cultivation--auspicious and inauspicious days. The keeper of irrigation regulated the supply of water between the village farms. Assisted by a few other "specialists" such as the potter, the carpenter, and the blacksmith, the village community consisted almost entirely of the farming families (*kṣetrin-s*) or (*kutumbin-s*). Economically, each village community was a self-sufficient or self-contained unit. The community produced, as most Newar villages until recently did, nearly everything it needed. Whatever it did not produce locally, such as salt, metals, cotton or oil, were exchanged for grains or money. The surplus produce surrendered either to the lord or to the State was in the main all that entered the market for sale. Immediate disputes in the village were settled by the council of elders (*pāñcālī*). Cultural activities and institutions were maintained by corporate bodies (*goṣṭhi*). The community looked after its temples, their rituals, annual festivals, public works, water-tanks, conduits, irrigation-canal, wells, roads, farms, and orchards. Water--both drinking and irrigating--was looked after most seriously; disputes over the management and distribution of irrigation water between villages were taken up directly by the King's private court (*paramāsana*). The village community paid taxes in cash and kind; some on production, others on sale of a wide range of goods such as garlic, onion, vegetables, oil, cloth, fish, chicken, sheep, pigs and pottery. Entertainment taxes were levied on bull-fight. Customs were levied on the export of iron, fly-whisk, musk, copper-utensils and mustard-seeds. Apart from the royal share of crops on crown lands, the village community paid rent in kind to the landowners, which amounted to anything from 40% to 75% of the crops. The villagers were required to do unpaid labour and portage for the lord or the State or both. The King and his officials or police interfered with the village community either for the levy of revenue/taxes (*karasādhana*), or for handing over official/statutory landgrants and tax concessions (*lekhyadāna*), or for the administration of justice, particularly against five great crimes (*pañcāparadha*). Otherwise, the

village community was, for all intents and purposes, a self-governing social, cultural, economic, and political unit. Even when the traditional customs of a village community were against the grain of the Hindu social norms, as in the loose morality of the women referred to in Inscription No. 107, the Licchavi administration let the village community have its own way.

The Village and the Palace

The main links between the village community and the palace were the palace offices and officers, on the one hand, and the village headman, on the other. The most important link-figures were the *brahmaṇ* who was later replaced by the *dauvārika* (the ancient version of the modern *dvāre*) who was the chief judicial authority in a village. The *dauvārika* was linked with the doorkeeper at the palace in charge of a particular village (*pratihāra*). The King sent his messenger (*dutaka*), often his main feudatory or hier-apparent to execute his deeds and interpret his charter to the village community. Mostly, however, it was the tax-collectors (*chāṭa-bhaṭa*) or the representatives (*adhikṛta*) of the tax-collecting, revenue administration and judicial offices (*adhikaraṇa*-s) which made the royal presence felt. More than 80% of the royal charters, therefore, prohibited these officers and constable from entering a given village as an act of royal favour (*viśiṣṭa-prasāda*).

The King lived in style and pomp, surrounded by the bureaucracy--though a rudimentary one--stationed in the several wings of the Royal Chancery or palace. In the beginning, we hear mainly of the four offices--*Liṅgval*, *Śolla*, *Māpco*k, and *Kūthera*. None of these names is in Sanskrit. They were probably the relics of the tribal toll-collection posts, inherited intact by the Licchavi rulers. The *Kūthera* collected taxes due the royal treasury and controlled landed property. The *Śolla* had jurisdiction over the five great crimes which included theft, murder, adultery, and treason. The *Liṅgval* looked after irrigation and water-supply. The *Māpco*k administered civil affairs, especially marriage, divorce and other related disputes. Later on, these offices receded into the background, to be replaced or taken over by cardinal offices--*Pūrvādhikaraṇa*, *Paścimādhikaraṇa* etc., since the days of *Aṃśuvarma* (A.D. 594-621). These offices were probably named after the four or five palace gates. The most important palaces mentioned by name in the Licchavi inscriptions at different times were: *Mānagrha* (A.D. 505-641), *Kailāsakūṭa* *Bhavana* (A.D. 606-659; A.D. 695-733), *Bhadrādhivāsa* (A.D. 671-679), *Salambū Rājavāsa* (A.D. 705), *Puṇḍri Rājakula* (ca. 594), *Dakṣiṇārājakula* (ca. 594, 613, ca. 733). Some scholars have identified the last one with *Guṇpo* or *Hanumān Dhokā*, (G. Vajrācārya, 1975) whereas the location of the rest are still a matter of conjecture. The most important of royal officers were *Mahāpratihāra* (Minister in charge of Palace Affairs), *Sarvaḍaṇḍanāyaka* (Chief Minister), and the *Balādhyakṣya* or *Mahābalādhyakṣya* (Commander). The *Viṣayapati* (head of regional administration), *Śautika* (head of the customs department), and *Gaulmika* (officer in charge of a post), and *Tāpanādhikṛta* (tax officer) almost exhaust the list of bureaucracy or the state servants (*aṣṭādaśaprakṛti*) who are traditionally considered to be 18 in number. Some picture of the Licchavi palace

establishment can be pieced together from Aṃśuvarṃā's Hārigaon Inscription (No. 69), dated 30/A.D. 606

The Tribal Sub-Stratum of the Village Community

The ancient inscriptions of Nepal are the elite or Establishment version of social, cultural, and political values because they are the pious deeds and panegyrics of the ruling elites. These documents represent Hindu social and cultural veneer at the top of a tribal society.

Even after the 2500 years of Hindu or Brahmin penetration in the Himalayas, 27% of Nepal's total population are still tribal. In the Nepal Himalaya, the Valley of Nepal was the earliest contact-zone between the Hindus and the tribals. Probably, the earliest contacts of the Valley with the Indo-Aryans went back to the early centuries B.C.--inaugurated by the long-distance traders in woollen goods and exotic herbs, to be followed by the missionaries of India's great apostolic religions. We do not know exactly when or how the Indo-Aryans who claimed to be Licchavis came to Nepal. The chronicles such as the 14th-century *Gopālarājavarṃśāvalī* indicate that the Licchavis came to power in Nepal by conquest over the tribal populations (*kirāta*). Some purāṇic texts such as *Paśupati Purāṇa* (compiled in the 16th century?), on the other hand, indicate that the Licchavis conquered the Kirātas by "outmanoeuvring them with superior skill with words and power of inducing trust". (XVII: 12-15) No matter when or how the Indo-Aryans claiming Licchavi descent came to power in the Nepal Valley, the tribal occupation of the Valley prior to the Indo-Aryan migrations is irrefutable. In the words of a noted scholar of Licchavi culture and history,

The Licchavi inscriptions tell (us) of a society consisting of migrant people from India. About the position of the aboriginal people these inscriptions are almost silent.

(J.C. Regmi, 1978:8)

Notwithstanding the information blackout on the aboriginal populations of the valley, the Licchavi inscriptions are replete with unintended data on the tribal substrata of contemporary society. For example, the expression *kirātavarṣadhara* (a Kirāta attendant?, see Monier-Williams, 1899:927) is attested in an inscription, paleographically datable to Aṃśuvarṃā's time (A.D. 594-621). There are at least a few personal names such as Sindrira, Rogamāca, Kedumbāṭa, and Gecchimdhāka which are non-Indo-Aryan, if not Tibeto-Burman. We have analysed and discussed the Tibeto-Burman features of some 200 nominals encountered in the running Sanskrit texts of Licchavi inscriptions, including 35 hydronyms and 16 hillock names (Malla, 1981, Malla 1983a, and Malla, 1985). The fact that the data are linguistic does not mean that their relevance is confined to language. Because Regmi's treatment of the so-called "Kirāta Problem" is misleading we will first quote him in full before commenting on it:

There is no reliable evidence to support the Kirāta domination in the Valley...If Newari was a popular

language in those days the Mongoloid influence is indelible but this is confined only to the dialect spoken. In no other cultural spheres the Kirātas are in evidence. So any hypothesis in that connection might be ruled out at this stage (p. 155). The trace of Kirāta culture is invisible due to non-identity as well as non-availability of data identified with the complex (p. 191). Who were the original settlers of the Valley ? Perhaps, they were the Austroids or Mediterranean people-- the common ancestors of the Santals, Savaras, Kolis, and Bhils (p. 192). The Kirātas, whatever the time they migrated, came to dominate the Nepal Valley so as to impose their language on the inscriptions... .. The Kirātas as primitive people had migrated to overwhelm the local population because their number was larger than that of any other migrant section and there is no doubt that the latter absorbed them but in return accepted their language though everything worked under the dominant Sanscritic influence (192)... .. Whether the non-Sanskritic names are of the Mongolian family of languages or they belonged to a different family... What is the standard by which to judge their character ? One must judge them by the structural pattern and meaning of the linguistic form concerned. But here none of the words we have mentioned show characteristics of Mongoloid strain by structure or meaning. (p. 265)

We do not quite know why, in the first place, the historian, who for the last 40 years has been grimly adhering to his bold but worn-out hypothesis of the "original Austroid or Dravidian or Mediterranean settlers in the Valley" without ever producing a single piece of convincing evidence, thinks that there is no reliable evidence for the Kirāta domination in other cultural domains than language. Except for his hypothesis of "original Austroid settlers in the Valley" there is almost no consistency in Regmi's views if we trace them from his 1948-paper entitled "The Antiquity of the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley" to his 1960, 1969, and 1983 versions of ancient Nepal. In the latest 1983 version, Regmi is sadly confused because he is writing on a field with which he is not familiar. In the first place, he is confused between the two English words *Mongolian* (of Mongolia, a country in Asia) and *Mongoloid* a conceptual abstraction in physical anthropology referring to a racial type). Secondly, he is confused between Mongolian-Mongoloid family of languages (which does not exist) and the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Burman family of languages. Thirdly, he is confused between Mongoloid (race) and Tibeto-Burman (language). Finally, he does not care to clarify what exactly does he mean by "the structural pattern and meaning of the linguistic form concerned" (which one, please, out of more than 200 nominals ?).

Regmi believes that the Kirāta influence on Licchavi society and culture is confined to language. This is no longer tenable a view of

the available data. On the contrary, the linguistic data show that the Kirātas had left a most pervasive influence on Licchavi society, culture, administration in general and material culture in particular. For example, the Licchavis inherited and then assimilated the tax-administration evolved by the Kirātas. The Licchavis gave Hindu legitimacy to the tribal chiefs, priests, village council of elders, mutual help trusts by giving them a royal sanction and a Sanskrit name. Numerous cultural establishments such as -Guṃ-vihāra, Bhumbhukkikā-Jalaśayana, Mātiṇ-Devakula, Tegval-Nārāyaṇa, Mīrmelīti-Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa, Thaṃsaṃpriṃ-deva, Valaśokṣi-Devamandira, Prcchibrū-dakṣiṇeśvara, Kharjurikā-vihāra, Viṇvocā-Maṇḍapī, Poṇḍi-Maṇḍapī, Pañ-kuṭī, Chūma-kuṭī, Ripsiṇ (canal), Salambū-Rājavāsaka etc., are indelible reminders of the tribal-Hindu ethnic contacts. The numerous names of taxes, tax-offices, and corvée are non-Sanskrit. It is almost certain that the Licchavis promoted the wet rice culture sustained by means of artificial irrigation which they inherited from the tribals. At least, that much is clear from the survival of the Tibeto-Burman word *tilamaka* in the running Sanskrit texts of Licchavi epigraphy. More than 16 hillock names, some 35 names of rivers and water-sources, and above all, nearly 145 names of villages and settlements are all non-Sanskrit. Place-names, unlike personal names or surnames, have a high tenacity rate, and they do not change so easily. If we consider a place-name like *Khopa* (Newari name of Bhaktapur), we find that it goes back to some 1500 years--surviving all the social, cultural, and political vicissitudes of a millennium and a half. The linguistic evidence of these toponyms cannot be dismissed so summarily as Regmi does. They almost irrefutably prove that the Licchavi society consists of a pyramid of tribal settlements and populations with a Hindu elite and the veneer of Sanskritic culture at the top.

As a practising historian, surely, Regmi knows that the clue of single word has enabled archaeologists and historians and comparative linguists, not only to reconstruct, but actually to dig up whole lost cultures and civilisations. What puzzles us, therefore, is Regmi's belaboured efforts to deny the palpable linguistic evidence of the tribal occupation of the Valley. It would be, of course, senseless to censure Regmi for not being a linguist or an anthropologist or an interdisciplinary historian: he never claimed to be anyone of them.

Tribal Survival Amongst the Hinduised Newars: Post Facto Evidence

Students of contemporary Newar society, particularly those who have a keen eye for "living prehistory", have observed some interrelated aspects of Newar cultural and social system. Notable among these observations and findings are:

- a. the edifice of Newar civilization is erected on the ancient tribal substrata (Mary Slusser, 1982:9-11; Gérard Toffin, 1984:587)
- b. the Newars were Indianised by succeeding ruling dynasties (Slusser, 1982: 9-14), assimilating different ethnic elements into the fold of the caste system (Toffin, 1984).

- c. "the Newar society of today is ultimately a descendant of the historical Licchavi society" (Sharma, 1983:55).
- d. "The Kirāta, metamorphosed by millennia of miscegenation and acculturation, form the matrix of the Kathmandu Valley population, which in contemporary Nepal is designated Newar." (Slusser, 1982:11).

In Newar society, the tribal substrata have, fortunately not yet been completely submerged under the two millennia of Hindu superstrata deposited by the course of Nepalese social, political, and cultural history. The Newari language, for instance, still retains 22% cognates with Tibetan, 28% with Chepang, and 24% with Tamang in the 100-word basic vocabulary. If we exclude the Deobhājus (Rājopādhyāya), the Shresthas are the most Hinduised of the Newar castes. Yet among the Shresthas of Bhaktapur or Dhulikhel or Banepā there are numerous totemic clan names. Among the Bhaktapur Jyāpūs, the survival of totemism is strongest. Among tribal populations, social groups are distinguished on the analogy of natural species used as totemic name for such groups. Hypothetically, each group is responsible for the control of a species of plant or animal which it uses as its totem. The mark of tribal social organisation is strongest among the Jyāpūs where the traces of transition from totemic clan exogamy to caste endogamy are distinctly visible. The detribalisation of the Newars has been going on for the last 2000 years, yet today in Bhaktapur--the most Hinduised of Newar settlements--there are some 400 totemic names used as caste labels, not only by the Jyāpūs, but also by the Shresthas.

Not only the Newari language and society, but also Newar forms of worship still retain strong tribal traits. Mostly, members of a Newar lineage have a common lineage or clan deity. Its annual worship is followed by a lineage feast. More often than not, what actually receives the worship are the numinous stones in aniconic shapes, mostly located in outskirts, fields, riversides, and cremation grounds. (Vergati Stahl, 1979; Toffin, 1984). As an art-historian puts it,

The shapes in which the Newars venerated their own divinities, which had preceded the gods of Buddhism and Hinduism in Nepal, sharply differed from the forms of the latter. Stones were venerated in their natural shapes, whether singly, piled in heaps under trees, raised on altars, or still in the ground below the surface of the earth... The numinous stones are formless and timeless.

(Kramrisch, 1964:16)

Not only were these stones *formless* and timeless: they were also *nameless* village- or river-gods until the arrival of the Hindu ideologues who never failed to invent names and legends to assimilate the pre-Hindu forms of worship into the fold of Hinduism.

The farmers (*jyāpūs*) comprise nearly 45% of the population of the village settlements in the Nepal Valley. Until recent years they used the *gubhāju* (*vajrācārya*) as their healers-cum-priests to perform life-cycle rites and preside over the village festivals which were originally purely animistic--though increasingly influenced by formal religions. To the villagers at large, the most powerful priest-cum-healer has always been the *gubhāju*.

Diffusion Pattern of Hinduism

According to Weber, the propagation of Hinduism occurs in approximately the following way:

The ruling stratum of an "animistic" or tribal territory begins to imitate specific Hindu customs...
... abstention from meat, particularly beef; the absolute refusal to butcher cows; total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, ... gives up marriage practices that may deviate from Hindu custom and organises itself into exogamous sibs, forbidding marriage of their daughters to men of socially inferior strata... Some castes maintaining high standards have survivals of totemic organisation ... The assumption of additional Hindu customs follows rapidly: restrictions are placed upon contact and table community; widows are forced into celibacy; daughters are given into marriage before puberty without being asked; the dead are cremated rather than buried; ancestral death sacrifices (*śraddha*) are arranged; and the native deities are rebaptized with the names of Hindu gods and goddesses. Finally, tribal priests are eliminated and some Brahman is requested to provide and take charge of ritual concerns and thereby also to convince himself and provide testimony of the fact that they--the rulers of the tribe--were of ancient, only temporarily forgotten, knightly (*kshatriya*) blood. Or, under favourable circumstances, the tribal priests borrow the Brahman's way of life, acquire some knowledge of the Vedas, and maintain that they are themselves Brahmins of some Veda school and members of an ancient well-known Brahman sib (*gotra*) going back to such and such sage (*rshi*). ... Pedigree, and the required origin-myth, possibly going back to epic or pre-epic times, are borrowed or simply invented, documented, and witnessed, permitting the claim to the rank of Rajput (royal relationship, the presentday term for *Kshatriya*).

(Weber, 1958:9-10)

The Licchavis promoted Hinduism (*varṇāśramadharmā*) as the ideological basis for the organisation of society. The promotion of Hindu ethos is ultimately related to the economic differences in society and in particular to landed property. As Weber puts it, "legitimation by a recognized religion has always been decisive for an alliance of polit-

ically and socially dominant classes and the priesthood" (Weber, 1958: 16). This is probably where the social, ideological, and political functions of inscriptions come. What else is Mānadeva I's Cāngu panegyric or Jayadeva II's Paśupati panegyric if not the Hindu testimonial of "the fact that they--the rulers of the tribe--were of ancient, only temporarily forgotten, knightly (*kshatriya*) blood"? These inscriptions are "pedigree, (with) required origin-myth, possibly going back to epic or pre-epic times,... invented, documented, and witnessed, permitting the claim to the rank of *Kshatriya*." The inscriptions are the best testimonials of the values, beliefs, cults, pantheon, rituals, and above all, ideology and institutions which were being promoted by the monarchy, the landed aristocracy, the trading community, and the priesthood with economic support (land grant, rent in cash or in kind for temple rituals, maintenance of cult objects, and tax concessions), and a certain amount of self-government to the village community. The inscriptions promoted Hindu ideology, i.e., the ideology of the ruling classes which tried to legitimise themselves in terms of Hindu concept of a benevolent monarch of divine origin or charisma. What deserves a good deal of critical thought are the ideology of the inscriptions and the economics of the inscriptions.

The King was theoretically the owner of all land. He was the lord of all land (*bhubhuja*). He gave or granted land to his clients in return for their loyalty or service--moral, military or administrative. Private ownership over land had been in vogue in Licchavi Nepal for quite some time. Without private ownership of land there could have been no private donations or land grants for temple rituals, maintenance of cult objects or philanthropic establishments. Inscription Nos. 2,8,9,10,11,14,17,19, 28,30,33,34,36,45,47,48,90,112,118,120,130,131, and 141 show that the big land-holders in ancient Nepal were the Brahmins, the members of the ruling nobility, and the merchants. Cult objects such as *liṅgas*, pious deeds such as water-tanks or water-conduits were backed by income from land in cash or kind. The King also granted land to institutions (*agrahāra*), mainly to temples and monasteries, as well as to holy men such as *Pāśu-patācāryas*, or to offices (*adhikaraṇas*), or for the maintenance of temples, their rituals, and annual festivities. Above all, the King granted land to his kinsmen. Vasantadeva granted the village Jayapallikā to his sister Jayasundarī (Inscription No. 20). The grant entitled the princess, not only the income in royal share of crops, tax on agricultural goods, and supplies, but also judicial and administrative control over the village community.

The nature of relationship between the Licchavi monarchy and its clientele landholding classes, on the one hand, and their promotion of Hindu ethos to legitimise this alliance culturally, on the other, are the fundamental clues to a historical interpretation of the ancient inscriptions of Nepal. Income from land and property relations in land were not the only economic bases of the diffusion and promotion of Hindu religion and culture. The King and his clientele also gave other economic incentives, particularly tax exemptions, creating rent or tax-free or privileged village communities (*Koṭṭamaryādā*) where the tax-collecting offices (*adhikaraṇas*), officers (*adhikṛtas*) and the ubiquitous footloose *cāṭa* and

bhaṭa were prohibited from entering the given village. Such grants became the style of the royal favour since Gaṇadeva (A.D. 560-565) and a universal practice since Śivadeva-Amṣuvarma (A.D. 590-621) when the Hinduisation of the tribal populations became a matter of conscious state policy. In addition to these economic concessions, more and more powers and authority were devolved upon the village community--leaving the villagers undisturbed with their customary practices. The transition from the tribal village councils with their headmen or chiefs to the Hindu norms and structures such as *pradhāna*, *pratihāra*, *dauvārika*, *pāñcālī* and *goṣṭhīs* may have been less painful because of such a "liberal" policy at the grassroots. Thus, the assimilation of the tribals into the Hindu fold was facilitated by the policy of social, economic, and administrative incentives and concessions.

Hindu Ideology and Social Stratification

"The entire course of Indian history," according to Kosambi, "shows tribal elements being fused into a general society. This phenomenon, which lies at the very foundation of the most striking Indian social feature, namely caste, is also the great basic fact of ancient Indian history. The different methods whereby the tribal elements were formed into a society or absorbed into preexisting society are prime ethnic material for any real historian" (Kosambi, 1975:27). In inscription after inscription, the ruling monarchs of ancient Nepal--from Mānadeva I to Jayadeva II--are seen championing, not only the Hindu cults and rituals, but also the Hindu caste system. For example, Mānadeva I is described by a donor of a water-conduit in Kela Tole, Kathmandu as "the protector of the earth, one who loves his subjects like the father, and rules according to the tenets of the Vedas and scriptures". The King describes himself as "the one who had received the baptism of the *kṣatriya* in the practice of battles." His grandson, Vasantadeva uses *paramadaivata* (great god) as a royal title. Similarly, Anuparam's Hymn to Veda Vyāsa (Inscription No. 27) shows the vehemence of feelings against the opponents of Vedic Hinduism (i.e., the caste system), and calls the Buddhists *kutārkkikaiḥ* (atheists or ill-intentioned logicians). While right from the beginning of the Licchavi records all the pious deeds of the big land-holding classes--brahmins, *kṣatriyas*, and *sārthavāhas*--appear to show the increasing hold of Hindu cultural norms and religious ideals, since Gaṇadeva (A.D. 560-565) the King appears to adopt a conscious policy of economic incentives to bring outlying tribal village communities into the general fold of Hindu social and political order. (See Inscriptions 38-43). Śivadeva I and more so Amṣuvarma follow on Gaṇadeva's footsteps. The largest number of royal charters come from Śivadeva I (6), Śivadeva-Amṣuvarma (12), and Amṣuvarma (24). Some are marvellously well-preserved (Nos. 63, 64 and 65). To the economic incentives of tax reduction, Amṣuvarma adds the policy of increasing self-government to village councils and encouragement of long-distance trade through excise and customs exemption, and stimulus for livestock farming through tax reduction. The net result of these policies had been a shift in the economy, of which there are numerous traces in the inscriptions of the Śivadeva-Amṣuvarma age. One of these is the rise of the urban nuclei or marts as a result of the consolidation of pre-existing

villages and scattered settlements. The word *draṅga* (if it really means a township, rather than a mere watch-post or customs-collection post) occurs in an inscription of Śivadeva (No. 49) for the first time. Secondly, the inscriptions begin to mention tax and grant figures in monetary units. These economic changes seemed to indicate diversification of economic activities and occupations and consequent social changes. The most important of the indicators is the reference to *dharmasāṅkara* i.e., changing one's ascribed profession or occupation at will. The pursuit of one's ascribed occupation was regarded by Hindu lawgivers such as Manu, Kauṭilya or Śukrācārya as the bedrock of the caste system. So abandoning one's ascribed profession was strictly prohibited, and the cases of *dharmasāṅkara* or change of profession were looked into directly by the King. By Aṃśuvarma's time there was already a kind of religious court of the learned brahmins (*bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa*) to look into such cases of violations of caste norms. No wonder that Aṃśuvarma styles himself as "the high feudatory Aṃśuvarma, with his fame spread all over the world like a bridge of the unviolated Aryan propriety (*āryamaryādā*)" i.e., the caste system. This phraseology, of course, is not unfamiliar to students of Indian epigraphy where the most distinguished rulers of the Gupta period claimed to be "employed in settling the system of castes and orders" and "in keeping the castes confined to their respective spheres of duty" (Majumdar, Raychudhuri, and Dutta, 1978:188). A graphic example of the ancient social stratification, expressed in terms of status symbols, comes from an inscription (No. 108), issued by Bhīmārjunadeva (Licchavi) and Viṣṇugupta (Ābhīra) in A.D. 640. Being pleased at the portage services rendered to the King by the Kolīs (low caste peasants) of the Southern Kolīgrāma (Southern Kathmandu), the King permits the inhabitants of the village, as an additional royal favour, to wear all ornaments other than anklets and bracelets, presumably used only by the privileged castes.

If we scrutinise the names of deities worshipped and patronised by the royalty or the landed classes we find them mainly Hindu (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Śākta), and Buddhist (No. 74). Almost all the rituals (*yātrās*, *padma pūjā*, *varṣavardhana*, *kāraṇa pūjā* or *naimittaka pūjā*) are Hindu; almost all cult-objects (*liṅgas*, icons, sculptures, bronze or repoussé works) are Hindu, with a few Buddhist exceptions. Almost all pious deeds (construction, maintenance, and repair of water-tanks, wells, and water-conduits) are inspired by Hindu religious ideals of *puṇya* (virtue/merit), which are all invariably sponsored by the big landowners, no matter whether they are Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, or Sārthavāhas. During the rule of Narendradeva (No. 129), we come across a minister in charge of religious affairs (*dhārmārājikāmātya*). Śivadeva II's inscriptions (Nos. 133 and 136), dated A.D. 697 and A.D. 705, claim that King was "the banner of the Licchavi dynasty who thoroughly imposed the caste system". The alliance of politically and socially dominant classes who owned landed property is legitimised by the priesthood with the aid of a recognised religion. Hindu ideology i.e., the caste system, was an eloquent expression of "the ideas of dominance" of the classes with landed property.

The Licchavi Clan-Charisma

Not long ago, the Khas-Magars who came to political power after the Kot Massacre of 1846 laid a claim to Kṣatriya descent. The Brahmans invented pedigree and genealogy connecting Jang Bahādur Kūwar's ancestors with the Rāṇās of Udayapur, and Jang's family succeeded in marrying into the Ṭhakurī ruling family. Since then, all the tribals have been making social claims to Kṣatriya descent. The Gurungs in the 1920s made similar claims but did not succeed; the Thakālīs continue to make such claims, particularly the affluent ones (Haimendorf, 1956); the Limbūs make the same claims (Limbū, 1954; Chemjong, 1967); the Rāis have recently made similar claims (Kirāteśvarasandēśa, 1985). The Chepāngs and the Thārus have origin-myths connecting these tribes with Hindu epics. These social aspirations of the tribal populations of Nepal are so many indicators of growing penetration and diffusion of Hindu norms and ideology. Students of South Asian societies have tried to analyse this social-cultural process within the theoretical paradigm of "Sanskritisation" or "Hinduisation", or similar terms. The fundamental facts of the process are: 1. claims of the ruling elite of the tribe to noble descent; 2. adoption of Hindu caste norms and rituals as well as Hindu pantheon and forms of worship by the tribal elites, and 3 subsequent de-tribalisation of the social structure and culture.

The fundamental weakness in Regmi's approach to Nepal's ancient epigraphic data lies in his failure to analyse and interpret the data in the light of the socio-cultural process of Hinduisation of what was basically a tribal society. Between "Licchavi"--the eponymic founder of the ruling dyansty of ancient Nepal and the first historical king, Vṛṣadeva (ca. A.D. 350-390), there were allegedly 50 kings, and even in the official genealogy of Jayadeva II, 48 of them were unnamed. Even by conservative estimate, between Licchavi and Vṛṣadeva there may be a gap of nearly a millennium. This is too long a gap for any surviving human group to preserve the memory of its ancestral founder. Regmi thinks that Śivadeva I (A.D. 590-604) was the first one who "suddenly appears with the epithet "banner of the Licchavi family" and "this might arouse suspicion".

No king had yet called themselves *Licchavikulaketu*...an epithet which came to be adopted by kings after him. Thus Udayadeva, Dhruvadeva, and Udayadeva's son (Narendra-deva) and grandson (Jayadeva II) called themselves the banner of the Licchavi family.

(Regmi, 1983:101)

Mānadeva I's daughter, Vijayāvatī, born of Queen Bhoginī, calls her late father "the full moon in the firmament of the Licchavi family" (Inscription No. 18). Though neither Mānadeva I nor any of his successors upto Śivadeva I claims Licchavi descent, Regmi has asked the right question in a wrong wording when he writes:

Why Mānadeva's daughter betrayed her anxiety to connect Mānadeva with the Licchavi dynasty is certainly a puzzle in this background.

(Regmi, 1983:39)

The question is more complicated than the personal anxiety of a princess who should not, ordinarily, have bothered about such questions of social history. The time-distance between Mānadeva I's great-grandfather, Vṛṣadeva, and the eponymic founder of the Licchavi dynasty is at least 1000 years. In between only 2 kings, Supuṣpa and Jayadeva I, are remembered by name. All this might "arouse suspicion"--as Regmi puts it. Undercutting the poetic camouflage, Jayadeva II's Paśupati panegyric betrays what might have been a historical fact. In the inscription there is nothing about the emigration of the Licchavis from Vaiśālī (after its annexation by Ajātaśatru), nor is there anything about the emigration or conquest of Nepal by the Licchavis (after the rise of the Guptas in Magadha). Jayadeva II's genealogy does not connect his family with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī or Magadha; nor does it contain a word about the migration to or conquest of Nepal by the Licchavis. On the contrary, all that the genealogy claims is to equate the eponym *Licchavi* with the *Solar dynasty*. Unfortunately, Regmi's translation of verse 6 of the inscription fails to bring out this equation eloquently:

Like a mark on the forehead of the globe, trusted by his people, *belonging to the famous and great solar dynasty*, enjoying great influence and worthy of respect even by great Gods, he bears the pure name *Licchavi*, giving rise to a new dynasty, white like the beautiful moon, and similar to Ganga's flood, majestic in appearance and charming.

(Regmi, 1983, Vol II, p.91)

Various historical dynasties of South Asian monarchies had resorted to the origin-myth of solar descent, but the question is: why did Jayadeva II or his ancestors resort to the Licchavi name? The ruling elites in Nepal have almost invariably imitated, not only the political style and idiom of their Indian contemporaries, but also their assumed family name or surname: the Licchavis were influenced by the Guptas; the Thakurīs, by the Vardhanas, the Varmans, and the Pāla-Senas; the Mallas, by the Karṇāṭas and Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa; the Shāha-Rānās by the Moghuls and the Delhi Sultanate. In the 4th-6th century India, the Imperial Guptas were in the height of their power. Candragupta I (ca. 320-340) issued a unique coin-type with the royal couple standing on the obverse, the Queen, Kumaradevī (a Licchavi princess), to the King's right, with names of the royal couple inscribed, and the reverse bearing the legend *licchavayaḥ* (the Licchavis, in plural), possibly to celebrate the important political benefits of the Gupta-Licchavi entente. Instead of the name of any king, the Licchavis were mentioned in plural. This may give some ground to believe that although Ajātaśatru annexed Vaiśālī to the Magadhan Kingdom (in ca. 481 B.C.), the Licchavis continued to remain a republican people right upto the days of Candragupta I.

Candragupta I married a daughter of Licchavi, named Kumaradevī, who gave birth to Samudragupta (341-380). Samudragupta proudly claimed to be *Licchavi-dauhitra* (son of the daughter of the Licchavi). That Samudragupta should have used the mother's patrilineage or matronymic *Licchavi-dauhitra*, in defiance of Manu's (X: 22) classification of the Licchavis

as *vrātyas* (the fallen ones), is indicative of the fact that in the 4th-century Magadha, *Licchavi* was a name *more* esteemed by society than the name *Gupta*. The Guptas acquired great social prestige by matrimonial relation with the ancient Kṣatriya clan of the Licchavis, and naturally they proclaimed the fact in all royal deeds. Samudragupta's posthumous Allahabad pillar panegyric (composed by the court-poet Hariṣeṇa) lists the contemporary king of Nepal (Vṛṣadeva?) among one of the five border rulers who "paid tribute to the Emperor and came to prostrate before him at his command". It is, *therefore*, highly unlikely that the King of Nepal in A.D. 341-380 was a Licchavi. The Gupta Emperor who took such pride in claiming to be the grandson of Licchavi would not have mentioned that the King of Nepal "came to prostrate before him at his command," had the Nepalese King or feudatory been a Licchavi himself. Once they had consolidated political power in the Nepal Valley the kinsmen of Mānadeva I or Jayadeva II may have used the term *Licchavi* to stake the usual claim to solar descent. During the height of the Gupta Empire, the Nepalese ruling elites were clearly feudatories bordering the Empire. After Skandagupta's death in A.D. 467, the Empire begins to decline until it broke down under the onslaught of the Hūṇas. The feudatories in Nepal began to project themselves in larger social, political, and cultural profile soon after the death of Skandagupta. Once again, Regmi's treatment of "the Licchavi problem" is at best unilluminating:

If the Gupta Emperors take pride in their relations with the Licchavis, the latter must have been really a distinguished royal family or race. But we are not told as to where they lived. It is possible that about the time of Candragupta I the ruling family had migrated to Nepal. For we do not hear anything about them in Indian records since then.

(Regmi, 1983:192)

The crux of the Licchavi question in ancient Nepalese history is: *why* did such a distinguished or illustrious royal family, race or clan, have to migrate from the heartland of contemporary Indian civilization and culture to the Nepal Valley--a tribal periphery and hideout? Regmi's answer is:

The Vṛjjikas, probably a collective name for the Licchavis and others in the area, might have migrated in times of stress being under attack by outside elements.

(Regmi, 1983:191)

On this question, Nepali historians are unilluminating. Jha wrote that

Under the leadership of Supuṣpa the Licchavis migrated to Nepal only after the Guptas occupied the throne of Magadha, (mainly because of the dreadful betrayal of Candragupta).

(Jha, 1970:107)

However, he did not produce any evidence for his speculation. J.C. Regmi argued that the Licchavis of Nepal were the surviving members of the ancient Vṛjī republic of Vaiśālī and that they emigrated to Nepal soon after Ajātaśatru absorbed the republic of Vaiśālī in the Magadhan Empire in 481 B.C. (J.C. Regmi, 1978:30-31). He is not alone to hold this view. Mishra (1962:261-262) and Basham, too, are of the same view:

(After the betrayal of Vaiśālī by the Sage Kulavālaya,) Ceḍaga (the leader of the the Licchavis) committed suicide by drowning and the Licchavis emigrated to Nepal.

(Basham, 1951:69)

None of the sources used or referred to by J.C. Regmi, Mishra, and Basham mentions the emigration of the Licchavis to Nepal. The Pali canonical texts of Jainism such as *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, referred to by the above authorities, have *nothing* on the migration of the Licchavis to Nepal. Nor has *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* of the *Dīghanikāya*, a text which had already been translated into Chinese by A.D. 306. The Pali Buddhist canonical text, together with Buddhaghoṣa's [A.D. 420] commentary, *Sumaṅgalavilāśinī*, narrates in detail the campaign of Ajātaśatru against the Licchavis. In none of these texts is there even a remote reference to migration of the Licchavis to Nepal. There are, therefore, two possibilities:

1. Once they were secure in power, the Indo-Aryan immigrants who came to the Nepal Valley in the early centuries A.D. started to claim "Licchavi" descent. As Regmi puts it, "Nepal received a large scale migration from the Tarai belt in the south and this migration was mainly responsible for the creation of a degree of culture that was in evidence from the 4th-10th centuries A.D." (Regmi, 1983:191), or
2. The tribal chieftians of Nepal were inventing "testimony of the fact that they--the rulers of the tribe--were of ancient, only temporarily forgotten, knightly (*kshatriya*) blood", and the term Licchavi, like Malla, Shāha, or Rāṇā, was a convenient contemporary synonym of such noble descent and clan-charisma.

These hypotheses assume some relevance if we remember that no ruling Nepalese monarch following Jayadeva II (A.D. 733) claims to have been a Licchavi. The name obviously had lost its political relevance since the fall of the later Guptas, particularly since the receding of the successors of Ādityasena (A.D. 673), whose grand-daughter (*dauhitrī*) was Jayadeva II's mother, Vatsadevī.

Settlements

The Licchavis were elevated chieftians ruling over clusters of sparsely populated farming villages with irrigated fields--slowly nucleating as urban settlements over centuries. These peasant villages, some 140 or so are known by non-Sanskrit names, drew sustenance from wet rice cultivation and animal husbandry (rearing sheep, buffalo, poultry,

and pigs, among other animals). The material growth of these settlements was boosted by entrepôt trade, particularly with the opening of the Kuti and Kyi-rong passes in the ca. 7th century A.D. Thānkoṭ, Tistuṅg, Pharpīṅg, and Lele were on the trade route to India; the settlements of Nuwākōṭ, Kewalpur, and Gorkhā were on the route to the Kyi-rong pass; Sāṅgā, Nālā, Banepā, Khopāsī, Palāñcok, and Dumjā were on the route to the Kuti pass. The major spill-over of the settlements outside of the Valley began only with the growth of the entrepôt trade.

The inscriptions invariably refer to the settlements as *grāma* or *grāmapradeśa*. Only since Śivadeva I in ca. A.D. 596, we hear of *draṅga*, a word which has been variously interpreted by the authorities. For instance, Maity defines it as a township; Monier-Williams, as a city; Sircar, as "a station for revenue collection, a watch station or a town". On scrutinising Nepalese inscriptions, one is inclined to call a *draṅga* merely "the marketplace with a customs house" rather than a full-fledged township, or town, let alone a city. (See Vajrācārya, 1973:218-222; Regmi, 1983: 100). In all Licchavi records we know only nine of them by name. The area from Naxāl to Devpātan--the main artery of India-Tibet entrepôt trade-route--already developed into a cluster of urban trade-marts by the 8th century A.D. The townships of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur were "formed by the assemblage of several villages, progressively enlarged and brought closer to one another until they mingled into one another." (Lévi, II, 1905:185-186). "The rise of actual towns and of urban life was a late development. It was due, as suggested by Lévi, to a shift in the economy of Nepal from a purely agricultural to a mixed one, in which trade and crafts played an increasing role." (Peteck, 1984:184).

The Rise of the Merchants

In a study of the material bases of the transition from prehistory to history, a century ago Engels wrote:

The stage of commodity production with which civilization begins is distinguished economically by the introduction of 1) metal money, and with it money capital, interest and usury; 2) merchants as a class of intermediaries between producers; 3) private ownership of land and the mortgage system; 4) slave labour as a dominant form of production.

(Engels, 1884:172)

Though slaves were used in temples and households, the ancient inscriptions of Nepal do not lend any conclusive evidence in support of the use of slave labour in economic production. But the evidences for the other three economic innovations, leading to the advent of civilization, are not only abundant but palpable. As soon as we begin to have historical documents we have almost simultaneously all three of them at work to revolutionise the whole hitherto existing tribal society. It is perhaps no accident that like other historical evidence, metal coinage begins in ancient Nepal with Mānadeva I. Nor is it likely to be an accident that we hear of big landowning leaders of the caravans of long-distance traders

(*sārthavāha*) donating enormous landed property to Śaiva cult objects or Sun god (Inscriptions Nos. 8, 9 and 10). The two aspects of these donations are remarkable: a. the size and number of land-holdings which were donated;; b. their locations. The size differs from 30 to 600 land-measurement units; whereas the locations of the holdings of *Sārthavāha Ratnasaṅgha*, for example, are spread from *Praṇpriṇ* (Pharpiṅ), *Sītātīkā* (*Sitāpāilā*), *Yūpagrāma* (*Pāṭan*), *Khinaṣpu* (*Khaṇḍpu*), to *Khopriṇ* (*Bhakta-pur*). Without a shade of doubt, *Ratnasaṅgha* belonged to the new aristocracy of wealth, visible mainly in the form of private property in land. He belonged to a new intermediary class of merchants which made its fortune out of the long-distance trans-Himalayan entrepôt trade.

Although we have documentary evidence of these long-distance traders only since A.D. 477-480, the Nepal Valley had been long in the trade-map of the Indian classics as early as the 4th century B.C. Among the objects worth collecting in the royal stock, *Kauṭalya* mentions the black woollen blanket named *bhiṅgisi* (cf. Newari *bhiṅgu* = excellent, of good quality; *si*=textile, fabric, cloth) and *apasārikā* (II. 11.29), which were made in Nepal. In an early Buddhist *vinaya*-text, the caravan leaders from *Śravastī* go to Nepal to bring back with them wool, orpiment, wood in large quantities "loaded in their carts" (*Lévi*, III, 1908:183). *Hsüan Tsang* (A.D. 636) notes that Nepal is "favourable for the production of grains and abounds in flowers and fruits, also copper, yaks and birds named *ming-ming* (*jīvamjīva*). In commerce, copper coin is used". (*Beal*, II: 81; *Watters* II: 84). The Old T'ang Annals relates that

The merchants there, moving and stationary, are numerous; cultivators rare. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse (New T'ang Annals--on the reverse a horse and a bull, and which has no hole in the middle). They do not pierce the noses of their bulls (New T'ang Annals--they do not know how to plough the earth with the bulls).

(*Lévi*, II, 1905:164-165)

The internal evidence of the inscriptions also shows that Nepal exported copper-utensils, deer-skin, musk, yak-tails, iron--among several other things (Ins. Nos 70 and 71). Some of the herbs, vegetables, and minerals are so closely associated with the name of Nepal and its people that they are known in the Indian texts as *Naipāla*, *Nepālikam*, and *Kirātātikta* etc. We have also epigraphic evidence for the fact that villagers of south Kathmandu were required to do compulsory proterage for the State or private lords or merchants trading with Tibet (*bhoṭṭaviṣṭi*) (Ins. No 132). The small treacle of men and materials through the Himalayan passes engaged in barter trade of salt and grains may have suddenly undergone a sea-change once the *Banepā-Kuti* route to Tibet was discovered by the Chinese Buddhist monk *Hsüan Chao* in A.D. 639. Thus, already by A.D. 641-651, merchants--both moving and stationary--were numerous. At home, the feudal lords exchanged the surplus grains and goods they appropriated as rent for luxuries or for the goods and services of the craftsmen they patronised. It was the confluence of the economic interests and

activities of the merchants, the feudal lords living close to the court, and the craftsmen which laid the foundations for the growth of urban nuclei in the Valley. Once the class of merchants emerges, a fundamental cleavage takes place in a society--the cleavage between production and consumption -- between production for home and production for market. With this "breach at the heart of society"

the merchant took care to make it plain that all commodities, and hence all commodity producers, must grovel in the dust before money. In his hands the cult of money was safe... Never again has the power of money revealed itself with such primitive crudity and violence as it did in this period of its youth.

(Engels, 1884:163)

The Implications of Metal Money

The circulation of metal money is of fundamental significance for the study of the social history of ancient Nepal. Minted coins appear in ancient Nepal simultaneously with other historical evidence such as inscriptions and art-objects. There is no explicit discussion in the literature on the technology of making coins in ancient Nepal. However, on a close study of the embossed area, shapes, and sizes in the available Licchavi coins in private collections, including mine, there is hardly any doubt that the ancient copper coins were made with the help of embossing dies used manually, somewhat like modern post-marks on molten pieces or sheets of copper. There are eight main types of coins in circulation at various times in ancient Nepal. They vary a great deal in size, weight-standard, style, iconography, and workmanship in particular. However, the astonishing quality of finish and realism of the embossed animal-symbols of the winged lion in Mānāṅka, the cow in Vaiśravaṇa, the elephant in Guṇāṅka, and above all the horse in Jīṣṇugupta's coins can compare with the finest specimens of coins in India. The following are the summarised details of the ancient coins, their 8 main types and nearly 60 sub-varieties, issued between A.D. 464- ca.A.D. 879:

Type	No of Sub-varieties	Size	Weight
Mānāṅka/Śrī Bhoginī	10	2.35-2.80 cm.	12.64-14.46 gms.
Vaiśravaṇa/Kāmadohī	2	2.55	12.43-12.82
Śryaṃśu/ Kāmadohī	9	2.35-2.55	10.62-11.85
Mahārājādhirājasya/ Śryaṃśoh	1	2.54	13.48-16.28
Jiṣṇuguptasya	2	2.45	10.56-10.73
Guṇāṅka	9	2.20-2.40	a. 10.95-12.65 b. 9.90- 7.90
Paśupati	20	2.15-2.35	3.00- 9.90
Vṛṣa	6	1.35-1.60	2.00- 3.00

Experts are undecided in their opinions as to whether the Licchavi coins are modelled on the Kuṣāṇa or the Gupta or the Yaudheyā tribal coins. There are several problems unattended relating to the coinage in ancient

Nepal. In the first place, there is the problem of chronology and attribution of Vaiśravaṇa, Guṇāṅka, Paśupati, and Vṛṣa coin-types. To establish their authorship and chronology, they have no infallible clue other than iconography, palaeography, and the statistical average of weight-size standards. Secondly, there is the problem of fractional coin: were there coins of different fractions, or was there only one denomination copper (*tāmrika*) *paṇa*? The inscriptions refer to *paṇa*, *kārṣapaṇa*, [=16 *paṇa*] *purāṇa* and *paṇapurāṇa*, with no indications as to weight, value or mutual ratios. Thirdly, was the standard monometallic (copper only), or was it bimetallic (silver *purāṇa* and copper *paṇa*)? No ancient silver coin has so far been found in Nepal; nor do the Chinese notices refer to the existence of any silver coins in Nepal. Fourthly, why do the average weight-standards vary from type to type, or between sub-varieties of a type? The drastic weight variations are certainly not the effect of circulation alone. Fifthly, are the sub-varieties only iconographic or denominational/fractional as well?

If we subscribe to MacDowell's (1959) hypothesis that the earlier the coin the greater is its weight, we have only one anomaly, i.e., *Mahārādhirājasya/Śryamaśoh*, with the highest metal content of 14-16 gms. The coin may have been a coronation commemorative issue. The differences in average weight between two groups of the Guṇāṅka coins are "far too heavy to be a fractional denomination and is clearly a result of a deliberate reduction in the weight standard. Coins with the name of Paśupati range from 3.10 gms; but even in this group all coins seem to have been intended as a single denomination, and not as fractional" (MacDowell, 1959:39). What may have been, then, the reason for these "deliberate reductions in weight standards?" Some scholars argue, most plausibly, that these reductions in the weight of metal content was "to adjust the trade and commerce relations" (T.P. Varma, 1973:XIX, in the Introduction to the Indian reprint of Walsh, 1908). However, there is no doubt that the bulk of ancient Nepalese coin-types belongs to the eventful century between Aṃśuvarma and Narendradeva (A.D. 604-679).

What coins we have are a great asset to the study of ancient Nepalese society, particularly in view of the general paucity of coins in our history, and a near complete scarcity of coinage between Paśupati coins and Śivadeva III (A.D. 1098-1126), or between Śivadeva III and Mahendra Malla (A.D. 1560-1574). Despite the fact that coinage is a fundamentally important source of ancient Nepalese social and economic history, historians such as Regmi have given little attention to its scientific study; and there is no publication by any Nepali other than Hari Ram Joshi's (1976) unevenly written and documented Nepali publication. To keep referring to the dated papers and publications of the 1890s and 1910s when there are numerous private collections of ancient coins in Nepal, right at the historian's door-step--as it were, is a typical instance of our unwillingness to study the historical evidence at first hand.

If during the period of its youth the cult of money was marked by "primitive crudity and violence", could it be an accident that among the symbols used in the coins of ancient Nepal we have Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, Kuvera/Vaiśravaṇa, the god of wealth, and Kāmadohī, the cow of plenty, yielding all human desires?

Slavery

Slavery in ancient India was less severe and exploitative, and more patriarchal and proximate to hired labour and men "working off" fines or debts. The evidence for slavery in ancient Nepalese society is disputable. Vajrācārya (1973:3-4) thinks that the only evidence available refers to temple maids and attendants. Elsewhere the reference to slavery is merely allegorical. He believes that slavery existed in ancient society in a mild form, mainly in the form of compulsory labour. Regmi disputes the contention that "slavery had become a part of the society" and calls Vajrācārya's view "a hypothetical observation". Then he goes on, in his usual fashion, to refer to the Hindu *dharmasāstra* literature (Yājñavalkya, Manu, Nārada, and Kauṭalya) on the classification, status and duties of the slaves, but says nothing on whether they played any role in ancient Nepalese society, particularly in economic production as they did in classical antiquity. Regmi denies the existence of slaves in ancient Nepal, because not only does he misread a crucial piece of evidence, but mutilates its social content by misleading translation. All this will be obvious if we compare the following with what Regmi wrote in his Vol I:126 and Vol II: 78:

6. ..cāṭabhaṭaṇāmapraveśyena śarīrakoṭṭamaryādopannaḥ śarīrasarvakaraniyapra(ti)
7. muktaḥ kutumbīḥbahiradeśagamanādisarvaviṣṭirahito...
(Vajrācārya, 1973:496)

The village is granted the status and dignity of a fortified (i.e., privileged) settlement, exempted from the entry of the tax-collectors, and the heads of the farming families are exempted from corporal services including all compulsory portage to accompany (the lords) on their journey abroad.

(My Translation)

Regmi believes that the exempted corporal services are "only a form of forced labour arising out of the obligation to keep the dignity of the strong fort" (Regmi, 1983, Vol III:214). On the contrary, Sharma suggests that "like corvée, slavery too was part and parcel of the Licchavi land-based society, although we are unable to discover all its forms." (Sharma, 1983:38). So the question for future research is not whether slavery existed, but what role the slaves played in the economy and society of Licchavi Nepal.

The Illusion of the Epoch

The social relations of commodity production--the emergence of metal money, the merchant class, slavery, and private ownership of land--were slowly impinging upon the consciousness of the ruling elites in ancient Nepal. We have some evidence in extant inscriptions. Here are three eloquent ones:

In the deep darkness wholly engrossed by evil thoughts, different kinds of evil spirits cross the hell, but people are not devoted to you (Śiva) and they do not pray, and they are to undergo ever and ever the suffering arising out of birth, death, and disease and other serious calamities. King Mānadeva prays that the merits obtained through the act of setting up your sacred *liṅga* would ultimately go to uproot the sorrows and maladies of all the world including mine own.

(Inscription No. 6)

Here is a Buddhist lady donating land to feed the members of the Saṅgha and to worship the Buddha:

I perform this meritorious duty with a feeling of distress at my being born a woman and to be released from womanhood to become a male. My desire today being that I will have no longer to bear the sufferings of a woman.

(Inscription No. 12)

Finally, here is a Vaiṣṇava pundit, Anuparam, offering high-flown praise to Dvaipāyana (Veda Vyāsa)--the mythical composer of the Vedas, the Mahābhārata, and the purāṇas, now repudiated by those "with bad thought, bad conduct, and false logicians, and the disciples of the Sugata (the Buddha)":

Smṛtis, coming out of Śrūtis are no more checked in this world today. This was the method adopted (in the past); but today it is destroyed; (Verse 36)

Men revolve on the sea of life; they are chased by passions; and they fall in deep illusion; ... the path of salvation you have shown them in this earth... you have also dealt with the crooked distorters in this world.. For the good of the world you have exposed to view [Mahā] Bhārata, oh, doer of good, all the learning of this world. (Verses 45-52)

(Inscription No. 27)

Lévi remarked that "this hymn addressed to Dvaipāyana towards the end of the VI century in the bosom of the Himalayas surprises one by its singular character" because "the Nepalese poet, or at least the client who pays for his services, does not address Dvaipāyana in disinterested homage. It is a son who desires the success of his father and who asks to this effect the efficacious protection of the epic bard... We shall never know what kind of help was expected of the sage Vyāsa for the success of Anuparam's father." (Lévi, 1908:30). The unique character of this hymn lies precisely in the *ambiguity* of its worldly content whereas the intensity of its transcendental feelings is quite *transparent*.

There are different plausible and tempting interpretations of the hymn, particularly to treat it as a mere literary *tour de force*. One can

read here the conventional filial piety of a son for his parents, not too different from Mānadeva's for his mother or Jayadeva II's for his. Several contemporary inscriptions attest to such transfer of merit to the doner's kith and kin. What is striking here is that Anuparam has not offered anything material (no icon, no land endowment) other than the verbal artefact. It may, therefore, not be a commonplace offering out of filial piety, and Anuparam was no commoner. As Anuparam's family--the Guptas--had a chequered political career starting with the rise of Ravigupta in A.D. 513 to the death of Viṣṇugupta in A.D. 641, one may be tempted to read a remote echo of the changing political fortunes of the family in Anuparam's hymn to Dvaipāyana.

Anuparam (died ca. A.D. 540) belonged to a most distinguished family of the Guptas which supplied the chief executives of the country for more than a century. Paramābhimānī/Ravigupta A.D. 513-532 (?) was his father; Bhaumagupta (A.D. 557-590) was his son; Jīṣṇugupta (A.D. 624-633) was his great-grand son, and Viṣṇugupta (634-641), his great grandson's son. Regmi reads Anuparam merely as an orthodox Hindu revivalist "invocation to Vyāsa for deliverance to counteract the growing influence of Buddhism" (Regmi, 1983:71-72). The fling against Buddhism is understandable, not only because the Buddha preached against the caste system (in *Ambaṭṭha sutta*), against animal sacrifice (in *Kutadanta sutta*) and against the Vedas (in *Jevijja sutta*), but also because Buddhism as a religion had been patronised either by unorthodox kings or by the rising merchant class. Vṛṣadeva, a Nepalese king who may have ruled two centuries before Anuparam, was described even in an official genealogy as "a partisan of the rule of the Sugata," i.e., the Buddha.

In all likelihood, Anuparam was a brilliant representative, an ancient instance of the active ideologists who made the perfecting of the illusion of the class about itself their chief occupation. The mystification of social realities begins when ideologues start removing from social beings and things the reality that belongs to them and confer upon abstractions. As a true representative of his class, Anuparam may be imposing on the world the categories of thought and feeling derived from his social position. The Vaiṣṇava poet's lament at the decline of the precepts and norms enjoined by the Hindu scriptures would thus be ultimately the mental reflex of a society in transition--already under the grip of the cult of money, gradually undermining the traditional landed aristocracy.

When men invented money, they did not realise that they were again creating a new social power, the one general power before which the whole society must bow. And it was this new power, suddenly sprung to life without the knowledge or will of its creators, which now, in the full brutality of its youth, gave (the Athenians) the first taste of its might.

[Engels, 1884:111]

It is worth remembering that some ideologues in each phase of man's history tend to regard the established order as a product, not of history, but of an eternal scheme of things. In the idiom of their age, King

Mānadeva I, the Buddhist lady unwilling to be re-born a woman, and the Vaiṣṇava poet Anuparam were each merely sharing the fundamental illusion of their epoch--the epoch of the advent of metal money, the merchant class, private ownership of land and slaves.

In order to understand the ancient inscriptions of Nepal the first step is to penetrate the textual surface and verbal artefact, inlaid with the mystification of social and economic realities--which is not possible if our focus is only on words--as Regmi's obviously is--rather than on the social content and relations. We do not yet know enough about ancient Nepalese society to be too categorical about its structure and foundations. What we know are mainly from the inscriptions, supplemented by the coins, a few dozen sculptures, sundry archaeological remains and the Chinese notices. The recent works of Slusser (1982) and Toffin (1984) have added much to our limited knowledge of the culture, religion and social structure of the Valley, with insights gained from different social sciences. Some of the recent examples of how the study of urban space and rituals (Gutschow & Kölver, 1975), or the study of rituals and festivals (Kölver, 1980; Michaels, 1984) can illuminate the past and supplement the study of written sources, are provided by the work of the unorthodox German "Indologists"--unbelievably willing to go beyond the written texts and observe living history at first hand. If history is a hypothetical reconstruction of the past on the basis of inherently limited materials--written or otherwise--without going *beyond* the written texts, interpretation of their context is rarely possible. The inscriptions of ancient Nepal, which number less than two hundred to cover a time-span some four centuries, are by their very nature a partial source of information. So every interpretation of epigraphic data is fallible--including the one presented in this paper--and falsifiable with the help of fresh insights and materials.

However, neither the scepticism which is the historian's privilege nor the critical-comparative perspective of the interdisciplinary social scientist, appears to find a room in Regmi's analyses of the lexicon of the ancient inscriptions of Nepal. His attention is grimly focussed on words. Nearly all his learned commentary is confined to *isolated words* and *phrases*, on the so-called "technical terms" used in the inscriptions. Consequently, Regmi misses the content of the inscriptions, i.e., the economic, the political, the social, and above all, the ideological content of the inscriptions. Evidently, Regmi is well-versed in Indology --in the Sanskrit language, Indian classical texts and inscriptions, Nepalese paleography, and Hindu astronomy. The fact that after devoting four decades to research on Nepalese history Regmi successfully missed the historical import of the ancient inscriptions of Nepal shows that there is a valid distinction between pedantry and historiography. We can only hope that Regmi will address to these critical issues in the forthcoming Volume IV: *Ancient Nepal* "exclusively devoted to socio-economic conditions, as revealed by the inscriptions" (p. X; p. 8; p. 20; p 137; p. Addenda, and *passim*.), and give us, the non-specialists, the distilled essence of four decades of research in Nepalese history and Indology.

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नेपालको सौगात बेलायतलाई

त्रिरत्न मानन्धर

नेपालका राजाका राजदूतका रूपमा बेलायत भ्रमण गर्ने जंगवहादुर पहिला व्यक्ति थिए । अफ, उनलाई आधुनिक कालमा बेलायत जाने प्रथम 'हिन्दु राजकुमार' को रूपमा मानिएको छ (राज, सन् १९७३: १०७) । वि.सं. १९०६ माघ शुद्धि २ का दिन काठमाडौँबाट प्रस्थान गरेका जंगवहादुर वि.सं. १९०७ द्वितीय वैशाख शुद्धि १४ मा बेलायत पुगे । त्यहाँ करीव तीन महीना बसी उनी श्रावण शुद्धि १४ का दिन फ्रान्सको लागि प्रस्थान गरे र त्यहाँ अन्दाजि ६ हफ्ता बिताए । एक वर्षको विदेश भ्रमण पछि माघ शुद्धि ५ मा जंगवहादुर आफ्ना दल बल सहित काठमाडौँ फर्के (जैन, सन् १९७२: १०६-१०) । जंगवहादुरको बेलायत यात्राको उद्देश्य वारे विभिन्न लेखकहरूले भिन्ना भिन्नै मत व्यक्त गरेका छन् । कसैले जंगवहादुर अंग्रेज सरकारको शक्ति आफैले देख्न चाहन्थे भनी लेखेका छन् (हुसैन, सन् १९७०: ५३) भने कसैले चाहिँ नेपालका प्रधानमन्त्री उच्च ब्रिटीस अधिकारीहरूसँग सौफे सम्पर्क कायम गरी दुई देश बीच विद्यमान केही समस्याहरू सुल्फाउन चाहन्थे भनी आफ्नो राय व्यक्त गरेका छन् (जैन, सन् १९७२: १०७-८) । कसैले चाहिँ जंगवहादुर माथि उल्लेखित दुवै उद्देश्य प्राप्तिको लागि बेलायत गएका थिए भनी लेखेका छन् (रमाकान्त, सन् १९६८: २४८) । यस लेखको विषय जंगवहादुरको बेलायत यात्राको उद्देश्य नभई त्यस यात्रामा नेपालका प्रधानमन्त्रीले बेलायतका महारानी र ब्रिटीस सरकारलाई नेपालका तर्फबाट दिएको सौगात सँग सम्बद्ध भएकोले अब हामी सोही मूल विषय तर्फ लाग्दछौँ ।

आफ्ना दल बल सहित बेलायत जाँदा जंगवहादुरले बेलायतकी महारानी, त्यहाँका प्रधानमन्त्री र भारतका गभर्नर जनरल समेतलाई अनेकन 'बहुमूल्य' सौगात लिएर गएका थिए । विभिन्न प्रकारका कुरी, खुकुरी, खुडा, हातीको दाँत, गैडाको साग र कपडाहरूका साथै पृथ्वी-नारायण शाह देखि सुरेन्द्र सम्मका नेपालका राजाहरूका नाम अंकित असफरीहरू पनि सौगात स्वरूप लगिएको थियो । यसको अतिरिक्त वडा महारानी त्रैलोक्य राज्य लक्ष्मी र खुबराजा-धिराज त्रैलोक्यका साथै त्यति बेला जीवित रहेका राजाहरू राजेन्द्र र सुरेन्द्रका मुमाहरू क्रमशः गोरक्षा राज्य लक्ष्मी र साम्राज्य लक्ष्मीका नाम अंकित असफरीहरू पनि सौगातको सूचीमा उल्लेख भएको थियो । बेलायतको एउटा अखबारले यी सौगातहरूको मोल फण्डै साढे दुइ लाख पाउण्ड (अन्दाजी ६२ लाख रूपैया) भएको कुरा लेखेको थियो (दीक्षात, वि.सं. २०३०: ६७) भने अर्को अखबारले चाहिँ यी सौगातहरूको मूल्य पाँच लाख पाउण्ड भन्दा बढी (करीव डेढ करोड) भएको

कुरा उल्लेख गरेको थियो (वैलपटन, सन् १९८३:२२६)। तर शायद वेलायतकी महारानी वा त्यहाँको सरकार यी 'बहुमूल्य' सौगातहरूबाट प्रभावित भएनन् । सुनका टक वा विभिन्न हात-हतियारको सट्टा उनीहरू नेपाली जनजीवनका अनेक पक्षलाई प्रतिविवित गर्ने खालका सामानहरू हेर्न चाहन्थे । आफ्नो भेटघाटको क्रममा वेलायतकी महारानीले जंगवहादुरबाट नेपाल सम्बन्धी विभिन्न कुराहरू वारे अभिरुचि पूर्वक जानकारी प्राप्त गरेकी थिइन् (राणा, सन् १९०६:१३५ र वर्मा, सन् १९१५:१८२) र यसबाट महारानी नेपाली संस्कृति र जनजीवनसँग परिचित हुन चाहन्थिन् भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । वेलायतकी महारानी वा त्यहाँको सरकारको इच्छालाई ध्यानमा राखी जंगवहादुरले नेपाल र नेपाली संस्कृति स्व जनजीवनलाई प्रतिविवित गर्ने खालका सामानहरू तुरन्तै पठाइदिनका लागि नेपाल सरकारलाई पत्र लेखे । उनको आदेश तुरन्तै पालन गरियो र नेपालस्थित ब्रिटीस रेजिडेण्ट अरस्कीन मार्फत ती सौगातहरू वेलायत पठाइए । प्रस्तुत कागजपत्रमा ती पठाइएका सामानहरूको सूची दिइएको छ ।

कागजपत्रमा उल्लेख भएका सामानहरू वारे केही उल्लेख गर्नुभन्दा अगाडि त्रिभुवन विश्व-विद्यालयका उप-प्राध्यापक साथी श्री मुकुन्दराज अर्याललाई म हार्दिक धन्यवाद दिन चाहन्छु, किनकि उहाँकै सौजन्यबाट यी कागजपत्र मलाई प्राप्त भएको हो ।

यस कागजपत्रको साइज ७ $\frac{1}{2}$ इन्च x ११ $\frac{1}{2}$ इन्चको छ र यो २६ पृष्ठको छ । नेपाल सरकारको आदेश बमोजिम सामानहरू तयार गर्ने धेरै व्यक्ति स्व सरकारी कार्यालयहरूको नाम कागजपत्रमा उल्लेख भएको छ । सरकारी कार्यालयहरूमा तोसाखाना, कौसी, कडेलचोक, इटाचपलि, कपुकोत, टकसार, भन्सार, जंगी मेगजिन, क्लेभेल, हिटीचोक, कोटभण्डार, रानी-पोखरी मेगजिन, दुसाल, धन्सार, आदिको नाम उल्लेख भएको छ भने सरकारी कर्मचारीहरूमा कप्तान सताराम खत्री, कप्तान भगत खड्का, लेफटेन शिवशंकर पाध्या, कप्तान सुजानसि बस्न्यात, सदाँर डिल्लीसि बस्न्यात, बडा कप्तान सनकसि खत्री, अमीर मुन्सी लक्ष्मीदास, सुब्बा धनसुन्दर, सुब्बा केशवसि, कप्तान उजीर सेन, डिठा कीर्तिमानसि राजभण्डारी, कपदाँर भक्तवीर कुँवर राणाजी, डिठ्ठा अवीर खड्का, पुरोहित तीर्थराज पंडितज्यू, कोत्या वानासुर थापा, लेफटेन दलजित विष्ट, आदिको नाम उल्लेख भएको छ ।

यस कागजपत्रबाट विभिन्न सरकारी कार्यालयहरूका काम कर्तव्य वारे पनि केही कुरा थाहा हुन्छ । उदाहरणका लागि सुन र चाँदिका नेपाली टकहरू तयार गर्ने जिम्मा तोसाखानालाई दिइएको थियो भने विभिन्न प्रकारका कपडा र मसला भन्सारले उपलब्ध गराएको थियो । यस्तै प्रकारले देव देवताको मकुण्डा कौसी अँडाले तयार गरेको थियो भने देव देवताकै ढुंगाका मूर्तिहरू चाहिँ क्लेभेलबाट प्राप्त भएको थियो । सुन चाँदिका गहना, विभिन्न प्रकारका माटो स्व लोग्ने मानिस र खास्ती मानिसले लाउने लुगाहरू कडेलचोकका कपदाँर मार्फत तयार गरि-एको थियो भने घरभित्र प्रयोग हुने केही वस्तुहरू चाहिँ इटाचपलिका कुम्हालनाइकेबाट प्राप्त भएको थियो । यस्तै प्रकारले नेपालका विभिन्न स्थानहरूका नकसा तयार गर्ने कामको जिम्मा जंगी मेगजिनले लिइएको थियो भने विभिन्न जातका चावलहरू चाहिँ कोटभण्डारबाट प्राप्त

भएको थियो । यसको अतिरिक्त केही सामानहरू चिसापानी र पाल्पावाट पनि फिकाइएको थियो ।

सौगातको रूपमा वेलायत पठाइएका सामानहरूको सूची भएको प्रस्तुत दस्तावेजमा नेपालको संस्कृति र जनजीवनलाई चिन्हाउने अनेकन सामानहरू परेका छन् । दस्तावेजवाट नै विस्तृत रूपमा जानकारी प्राप्त हुने हुँदा यहाँ छोटकरीमा ती सामानहरूको परिचय दिइन्छ ।

नेपाली मुद्रा:

माथिने लेखिसकियो कि जंगवहादुरले वेलायत जाँदा आफू संगै पृथ्वी नारायण शाह देखि सुरेन्द्र विक्रम शाह सम्मका नेपालका राजाहरूका नाम अंकित सुनका मुद्राहरू लगेका थिए । तर, वेलायतको महारानी वा त्यहाँको सरकार साधारण नेपाली जनताले प्रयोगमा ल्याउने मुद्राहरू हेर्न चाहन्थे । फलस्वरूप प्रस्तुत सूचीमा तावाको पैसा, अधेला, दाम र दयाक को साथै चाँदीको सिक्का (रुपैया), मोहर (आठआना), सुका (चार आना), सुकी (दुइ आना) अंजी, अध-अंजी, पाइ (पैसा) दामको मोल सहित उल्लेख भएको छ । यसको अतिरिक्त विभिन्न परिमाणका सुनका असर्फि पनि सौगातका रूपमा उल्लेख भएका छन् ।

विभिन्न प्रकारका कपडा:

वेलायत जाँदा जंगवहादुरले आफू संगै विभिन्न प्रकारका कपडाहरू पनि लगेका थिए तर त्यसमा साधारण नेपाली जनताले प्रयोग गर्ने वा नेपालमानै उत्पादन हुने कपडाको नामोनिशान थिएन । प्रस्तुत दस्तावेजमा भने त्यस्ता कपडाहरू विशेषरूपमा उल्लेख भएका छन् । खादी, चारखाना, घरबुन्ना आदि कपडाहरू को साथै विभिन्न प्रकारका पतासी (फरिया) जस्तै नागवेली पतासी, कतु नागवेली पतासी रंगा तखेसुलु पतासी, कृगो मुदुचु पतासी, सिकालु पतासी आदि पनि उल्लेख भएका छन् ।

मसलाहरू:

नेपालीहरूले प्रयोग गर्ने विभिन्न प्रकारका मसलाहरू पनि सौगातको सूचीमा उल्लेख भएका छन् जसमा हर्षो, वर्रो धनिया, सोफ, दालचोनी, अलैंची, जिम्बु, दाख (मुनका दाख, काला-मुनका दाख, वेदाना दाख), कोहरा, चियामा हाल्ने 'मौठो' आदि प्रमुख छन् ।

देवी देवताका मकुंडो:

दस्तावेजमा विभिन्न हिन्दु देवी देवताहरूका मकुंडोको पनि उल्लेख गरिएका छन् । हिन्दु देवीहरू वाराही, महाकाली, इन्द्रायणी, कौमारी, ब्रम्हायणी, नारायणी, महा-लक्ष्मी, वैष्णवी का साथै सिंहिनी, व्याघ्रिनी, र राक्षसको मकुंडो पनि सौगातको रूपमा वेलायत पठाइएका थिए ।

सुनचांदिका गहना:

जंगवहादुरले आफू सँगै सौगातको रूपमा सुन र चांदिका कैही सामानहरू वैलायत लगेका थिए । तर त्यसमा नेपालीहरूले प्रयोग गर्ने खालका गहनाहरूको अभाव थियो । प्रस्तुत दस्तावेजमा भने सुन चांदिका त्यस्ता गहनाहरू सामेल गरिएका छन्, जसमध्ये चांदिको खीप भएको बीज, सुनको नत्थ सुनकै बुलाकी, चैप्टो सुन, सुनको टुकिचा (कानमा लगाउने), चांदिको मोहन माला (मोहर को माला), चांदिको जन्त्र आदि प्रमुख छन् ।

विभिन्न प्रकारका माटो:

नेपालको प्राकृतिक स्रोतका रूपमा रहेका विभिन्न प्रकारका माटोहरू पनि सौगातको सूचीमा उल्लेख भएका छन् । यसमा धादिंगको कालो माटो, फर्पिङ्गको सपैत माटो, भांडा रंगाउने माटो, पहेलो माटो, भक्तपुरको कौसोपुंजा माटो, भांडा बनाउने कालो माटो, ठिमीको सेतो माटो, छाउनीको कैलोमाटो परेका छन् ।

लुगाहरू:

नेपाली जनजीवनको प्रतीक विभिन्न प्रकारका लुगाहरू पनि सौगातको रूपमा उल्लेख गरिएका छन् । त्यसमा नेपाली टोपी, अनेक प्रकारका चोली (वाहा काटेको दोवरी चोली, रुइदार तकुवा चोली, एक सरो चौवन्दी, दोवरी चौवन्दी), फरिया, पटुका, पक्ष्यौरा, जामा (एकसरो र दोवरी), भोटो, लोङ्गे मानिसले लगाउने विभिन्न प्रकारका सुब्बाल (कुँडी-वाल सुब्बाल, दोवरी कुँडीवाल सुब्बाल, भुलायको सुब्बाल) आदि परेका छन् । यहाँ सम्मकी ज्यापुको कैटा (लगाँटो) पनि सौगातको सूचीमा छुटेको छैन ।

भाडा वर्तन:

नेपालीहरूले घरभित्र प्रयोग गर्ने विभिन्न प्रकारका भांडा कुडा पनि सौगातको रूपमा वैलायत पठाइएका थिए । यसमा चुल्हो, दुइमुखे चुल्हो, अठल, पानस, हाडी, मकल, चालनी, डालो, नाला, डाडु पन्यौ, विभिन्न प्रकारका वाटा र थाल, कराही, तापक्या, कोपरा, फिकदानी, लोटा, गाग्री आदि विशेषरूपमा उल्लेख गरिएका छन् । साथै जाँड फिकन्या वः, जाँड राख्ने स्तंभा, रकसी पार्ने वाटा, रकसी राख्ने अला थल, तेल राख्ने ठेको, दही जमाउने पतिचा, तमाखु खाने हुक्का (दोल हुक्का र कल्लो हुक्का) र चिलिम, चिउरा कुट्ने सरजाम (वखल, लुसो, कुसाकुटो), धान कुट्ने ढिको, उहु र तेल पेट्ने सामानहरू, कुम्हाले भाडा बनाउने काठको चक्को, आदि पनि सौगातको सूचीमा छुटेका छैनन् । यसको अतिरिक्त मुसा मार्न बनाइने विभिन्न प्रकारका वस्तु जस्तै कठविराली, गोद्राक, खोर, चक्रि आदि पनि विशेष रूपमा उल्लेख भएका छन् ।

पूजा गर्ने सामानहरू:

धर्ममा ठूलो विश्वास गर्ने नेपालीहरूले पूजा गर्दा प्रयोग गरिने सामानहरू पनि यस दस्तावेजमा उल्लेख भएका छन् । पूजागर्दा वक्ती राख्ने दलु, पूजाको लागि जाँड राख्ने धालाचा, पूजा सम्बन्धी सराजाम राख्ने क्वतः, पंच पात्र आरती (पाँचमुखे, तीनमुखे र एकमुखे), सुकुडा, नैवद्यपात्र, देवा, घंटा, सिन्ह मुः, आदि विशेष रूपमा उल्लेख भएका छन् ।

चाँदिको चाँद:

नेपाली सेनाको क्लोटो परिचय दिने हेतु विभिन्न वटालियनका चाँदिका चाँद पनि सौगातको सूचीमा सामेल गरिएका छन् । यसमा रैफल, राजदल, श्रीनाथ, महिन्द्रनाथ, वर्दवानी, जगदल लगायत अन्य वटालियनहरूका नाम पनि उल्लेख भएका छन् । साथै चाँदिको तोडा, वनाथको कुथा, पितलको क्वाप भएको तोप, वनाथको चुस्ता, ढलवत्को कमरपैटी, आदि पनि सौगातको सूचीमा परेका छन् ।

वाजाहरू:

मनोरञ्जनका अतिरिक्त विभिन्न पर्व, उत्सव, पूजा आजामा वजाइने नेपाली वाजाहरू पनि सौगातको सूचीमा उल्लेख भएका छन् । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाका ज्यापु र साल्मीहरूले भजन गाउँदा प्रयोग हुने वाजाहरू कौँ चाखिँ, तिंकु, खालीमाली आदि विशेष रूपमा उल्लेख गरिएका छन् भने नेवार समुदायले प्रयोग गर्ने ढिमे वाजा, काहा वाजा र पोंगा पनि सौगातको सूचीमा परेका छन् । साथै अन्य वाजाहरू जस्तै नर्सिंगा, वेला, सहनाइ, माफा, मादल, कर्नाल, नगरा फ्याली सारंगी आदि पनि सूचीमा छुटेका छैनन् ।

नेपाललाई चिन्हाउने विभिन्न चित्र:

वेलायत पठाइएका सौगातहरूको एउटा मुख्य विशेषता यो छ कि त्यसमा नेपालका विभिन्न स्थानहरूका साथै प्रसिद्ध देवलहरू र वस्तुहरूको चित्र पनि सामेल गरिएका छन् । नेपाल लाइ चिन्हाउने स्थानहरूमा स्वयम्भू, धरहरा, थापाथलीको द्वार, रानीपोखरी, बुढानीलकण्ठ, सुनधारा छन् भने मन्दिरहरूमा तलेजु, भक्तपुरको पाँचतले देवल, जगन्नाथ देवल (रणवहादुर शाह द्वारा निर्मित), महिन्द्रनाथ र कुमारीको रथ आदि परेका छन् । साथै पुरानो किसिमको नेपाली घर, ढुंगा, इनारको चित्र का साथै डोटी, वेत्रावती र त्रिशूलगंगाको पुलका चित्रहरू पनि सूचीमा छुटेका छैनन् ।

कपडा बुन्ने सामान:

नेपालको प्रमुख घरेलु उद्योगको रूपमा रहेको कपडा बुन्ने सामानहरू यस दस्तावेजमा विशेष रूपमा उल्लेख भएका छन् जसमा धागो काट्ने सुइरी, ढु, हाथा, कपास फेर्ने धनु आदि प्रमुख छन् ।

सिकमी र वज्रकर्मीका ज्यावलः

सिकमीका ज्यावलहरूमा रंदा, चिं कठी, मुग्री, नाप्ने कालो धागो, चिन्हा राख्ने सामान, काठ कुंदने, वुट्टा काट्ने, हस्तिहाड रेट्ने आदि सामानहरू उल्लेख भएका छन् भने वज्रकर्मीका ज्यावलहरूमा वज्र ठोक्ने र लिउन लगाउने सामानहरू परेका छन् ।

देवदेवताका मूर्तिः

यस दस्तावेजमा सौगातका रूपमा ५३ वटा देव देवताका ढुंगाका मूर्तिहरू पनि परेका छन् । यसमा दश अवतारका मूर्तिहरू लगायत ख्याक र कवंचाका मूर्ति पनि परेका छन् । साथै धेरै प्रचलनमा नआउने अर्जुन, सहदेव, बलभद्र आदिका मूर्तिहरू पनि सूचीमा छुटेका छन् । एउटा चाखलाग्दो कुरा यो छ कि यहाँ दश अवतारको आठौँ अवतारमा कृष्णको सट्टा बलरामलाई राखिएको छ ।

ढक र जुताः

नेपालीहरूले तौलको रूपमा प्रयोग गर्ने फलामका ढकहरू पनि सौगातका सामानहरूमा परेका छन् । यसमा धानी, विसौली, सेर, पाउलाई सकेत गर्ने विभिन्न ढकहरू उल्लेख भएका छन् भने जुतामा चाहिँ लोग्ने मानिस, स्वास्थ्यी मानिस र बाहुनले लगाउने जुताहरू उल्लेख भएका छन् ।

सानातीना हतियारहरूः

जंगवहादुरले आफू सँगै अनेक प्रकारका हतियारहरू सौगातका रूपमा बेलायत लगेका थिए तर तिनमा नेपालीहरूले आफूना घरेलु जिन्दगीमा प्रयोग गर्ने साना तीना हतियारहरूको अभाव थियो । पछि पठाइएका सौगातहरूमा भने यस्ता हतियारहरू प्रशस्त मात्रामा उल्लेख भएका छन् । जस्तै चिम्टा, छिना, कोदालो, हसिया, खुकुरी, बसिला, फारी फिकने कांटा, चुलेसी, विभिन्न प्रकारका (सुनकाट्ने, कपडा काट्ने, तावा पितल काट्ने) कैचो, आदि । बंचरो, चुपी, गल, रांभो, मुगल, करौटो, सियोका साथै स्या चुपी (विशेष गरी मासु काट्ने) पनि सौगातको सूचीमा परेका छन् । जसबाट नेपालीहरूको जनजीवन वारे राम्रो परिचय पाइन्छ ।

खाद्यपदार्थः

नेपालीहरूले दैनिक जीवनमा उपभोग गर्ने अनेकन खाद्य पदार्थ पनि सौगातको सूचीमा उल्लेख भएका छन् । चावलको हकमा राज भोग, मोरुंगी, सुनाखरी, तौली, मासी, मन्सरा, धैया, इन्द्रवेली, हाकुवा, गौरीया, फिनुवा आदि विभिन्न थरी उल्लेख भएका छन् भने फलफूलमा चाहिँ केरा, आरू, गुलाफ जामन, वेल आदि परेका छन् । तरकारी मसलामा लपसी, टिमुर्, लसुन, ह्यापी, अदुवा, आलु, फाफर, कोदो, भटमास, गहू, केराउ, मेथी, मस्यां (एक

प्रकारको गेडा गुडी), मास, रायो, वोडी, पीना, बेसार, सिनकी आदिका साथै चाँसुर र पाक्काइ (रायोको साग) पनि कुटेका हुन्छन् । यसको अतिरिक्त विभिन्न प्रकारका खाना बनाउदा प्रयोग गरिने भाँडाहरू पनि सूचीमा परेका छन् ।

जडीबुटीहरू:

जडीबुटीका लागि प्रख्यात नेपालले अनेकन प्रकारका जडीबुटी पनि सौगातका रूपमा पठाएको थियो । दस्तावेजमा ६० भन्दा बढी प्रकारका जडीबुटीहरू उल्लेख भएका छन् जसमध्ये धेरैको अर्थ लगाउन पनि गाह्रो देखिएको छ ।

फलफूलका विहवाहरू:

दस्तावेजको अन्ततिर विभिन्न फलफूलको विहवाहरूको उल्लेख आएको छ । ती मध्ये सुन्तला, अनार, अँसेलु, कालिजमी, चाकुसी, कुरिलो, स्याउ, काफल, ध्यूकुमारी आदि प्रमुख छन् । यसको अतिरिक्त विभिन्न प्रकारका फूलका विहवाहरू (पितृ गोल सोजन, सुकुंदराज, काँग्रेवाल, छिदकिनी, भुंगराज, मखमली आदि) पनि सौगातको सूचीमा कुटेका हुन्छन् । साथै पात्पावाट प्राप्त विभिन्न रंगका चिनीया फूल, दहेला फूल र सुनकाहुली पनि सौगातमा सामेल गरिएका छन् ।

वैलायतकी महारानी र त्यहाँको सरकार कुँउ पठाइएका माथि उल्लेखित सौगातले तत्कालीन नेपालको संस्कृति र जनजीवनलाई क्लृप्त पारेको छ । यसमा शासक वर्ग देखि लिएर निम्न स्तरका साधारण व्यक्तिले प्रयोग गर्ने वस्तुहरूको उल्लेख भएको छ । तर यस दस्तावेजमा लेखिएका केही वस्तुहरूको अर्थ जान्न सकिएको छैन किनकि ती वस्तुहरूको प्रयोग आजकाल हराइ सकिएको छ । ती वस्तुहरूको अर्थ र उपादेयता जान्न सकेमा तत्कालीन नेपाली जन जीवन वारे नौला कुराहरू प्रकाशमा आउने थिए ।

दस्तावेजमा उल्लेखित सामानहरू सरकारी कर्मचारी वा सरकारी कार्यालयहरू मार्फत तयार पारिएको हुनाले यसमा केही वस्तुहरू दोहरिएका छन् । सडेटे वस्तुलाई दुइ तीन ठाउँमा विभिन्न शीर्षक अन्तर्गत उल्लेख गरिएका छन् भने केही महत्वपूर्ण वस्तु पनि सूचीमा कुटेका छन् । उदाहरणका लागि काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा प्रसिद्ध बाजाहरू वेः (मुखले बजाउने बाँसुरी जस्तो), नायकी, मुस्या आदी कुटेका छन् भने गुन्द्रु जस्तो बहुसंख्यक नेपालीले प्रयोग गर्ने साध वस्तु पनि सूचीमा परेको छैन ।

हुनत दस्तावेजमा उल्लेख भएका सामानहरूमा धेरै जसो नेपालीहरूले मात्रै प्रयोग गर्ने वस्तुहरूमात्रै परेका छन् ता पनि केही यस्ता वस्तुहरू पनि सूचीमा उल्लेख भएका छन् जसको केही उल्लेख गर्न आवश्यक देखिन्छ । हंडी वियो दुइ टुक्रा काठको भरमा खेल्ने नेपालको आफूने प्रकारको सडटा खेलहो जसलाई आजकाल राष्ट्रिय खेलको संज्ञा पनि अनौपचारिक रूपमा दिन थालिएको छ । त्यस्तै प्रकारले भोगरा मार्ने गुलेली पनि नेपालमा प्रचलित एक प्रकारको आफूने किसिमको सानो हतियार नै हो । प्रस्तुत दस्तावेजमा यी दुवै वस्तुहरूको उल्लेख भएको छ । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा टोखाको चाकु हाल सम्म पनि प्रख्यात छ र प्रस्तुत सौगातको सूचीमा यी

पनि कुटेको हैन । त्यस्तै प्रकारले ज्यापुहरूले विभिन्न पर्वमा प्रयोग गर्ने धुँज्या विज्या गन्या वासको लिंगो एक विशेष प्रकारको नेपालको आकर्षण हो, जसले प्रस्तुत सौगातको सूचीमा स्थान पाएको छ । यसको अतिरिक्त साधारण जनताले प्रयोग गर्ने सुकुल, गुन्द्रोको साथै दिन रात छुट्याउने नेपालमा प्रचलित आफ्नै प्रकारको घडी पनि सूचीमा परेको छ । तर गठ्ठा सट्किने कुरा के छ भने प्रस्तुत दस्तावेजमा विशेष गरी काठमाडौं उपत्यकामा प्रयोग गरिने वस्तु-हरू मात्रै परेका छन् । तराइ भेक र हिमाली भेकमा प्रयोग हुने सामानहरू यस दस्तावेजमा कम-मात्रामा उल्लेख भएका छन् । नेपालको आफ्नै प्रकारको संस्कृति र जनजीवनलाई दर्शाउने उद्देश्यले काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका सामानहरूलाई जंगवहादुरले जोड दिइएको यताबाट देखिन्छ ।

यी सौगातहरू कहिले बेलायत पुगे र जंगवहादुरले यी सामानहरू आफैले बेलायतकी महा-रानी वा त्यहाँको सरकार कैउ प्रस्तुत गर्न पाए वा पाएनन् भन्ने कुरा हाल सम्मका दस्तावेज-हरूले संकेत गरेका हैनन् । तर यी सौगातहरू ब्रिटीस रेजिडेंट मार्फत बेलायत पठाइदा जंग-वहादुर बेलायतमा नै भएकी र त्यसको करीव दुइ महिना पछि मात्र उनी बेलायतबाट फ्रान्स तर्फ लागेकी हुनाले सम्भवतः यी सौगातहरू स्वयम् जंगवहादुरले नै ब्रिटीस सरकार कैउ प्रस्तुत गरेका थिए ।

दस्तावेजको मूल भाग यस प्रकारको छ:-

१९०७ साल

लैनमा रजोर्ड अरस्कोन साहेव मार्फत बेलायत सौगात पठाउनालाइ नेपाल पाहाडका चीज वीज जरिवुटि नेपालका पहेरणका कपडा गहना हात हतियार गैद्व गयाको मिति आषाढ वदि १ रोज ।

तोसा षानावाट गयाको

सुनाका असर्फि गैद्वके मोहर रू							
सिक्का	१	के	२०	माफा	१	के	१०
सुका	१	के	५	सुकि	१	के	२११
अंनी	१	के	११	अधअंनी	१	के	११
पाइ	१	के	१-	दाम	१	के	१११

चादिका सुकासुकी गैद्रेको मो ल			
सिक्का	१ के १	मोहर	१ के ११
सुका	१ के १	सुकि	१ के २
अनो	१ के १	अधुनी	१ के ५११
पाइ	१ के १	दाम	१ के ५१
हात दातका चिनी प्रुंषा	२ के	हाति दातका सुइरो भयाको कुरि	२ के
चिनित्रा थेली	२ के	रानिदका	१ के
दर्का	१ के	लात परि	१ के
हातो दात	२ के	गौरि गाइका सिङ	१ के
ठुलो	१ के, सानु १ के	ठुलो गैडा णाग	१ के
हाता		२ के	१६
ठुना	१ के १०	माफा	१ के ६
रंगरंगका चिनित्रारेसम तोला	३१४ के	संगेसमका कटौरा	१ के
कस्तुरिको सवंगि	२ के	अ कोगयनि	१ के
णगाँता	१ के	फटीकको दुगाका डल्ला	१ के
संगेसमका च्यादानका नकसा भयाको माहा			२ के
काचो सेर १ णान्याको सेर १ज्मा मैन सेर			२ के
दोसाला वुन्या रंग रंगका उन		किर्मि वेलायति मणमल णगाम	२११३ के
मणमलको कार्चोपि काम भयाका चार्कान्या टोपी			१ के
वंदुक राणन्या संदुस क्वापनाके र तरवार का म्यानके			
खुज वनात गज	१ के	वे. मणमल णगाँ	१ के
कलावतु का सीणतो	१३१४ के	नणमासा	१ के
बुद्धिवल त्रिपासा का थर्कि	२ के		
वेलाइति मणमल णगाम्	२११ के	कोपाकासिवाल थान	१ के
वेस चिहुलि हात	२ के	चिनिया रेसम तोला	१२१ के

कप्तान सताराम णत्रि कप्तान श्री भगत णडका लेफ्टेन
शिव शंकर पाध्या मार्फत रकम रकम वाट फि कि गयाको

सुवा केशव सिं मार्फत भन्सारको			
जावि	१ के	नेपाल्या तीस थान	१ के
सर्दु थान	२ के	अ.डोरिया थान	१ के

टापुवा थान	१	के	सर्दुकापल्ला थान	१	के
पागा थान	१	के	षादि थान	१	के
षाढी थान	१	के	नेवाच्या क्वेलं	१	के
नेपाल्या चारणाना थां	१	के	घर बुंन थान	१	के
रं रंगको कपडा कोरि	१	के	सेतो पौगा	१	के
रातो पौगा	१	के	रुतु नागवेली पतासी	१	के
नागवेलो पतासी	१	के	णिचुलु पतासी	१	के
रूंगा तणसुलु पतासी	१	के	रुंगो मुटुचु पतासी	१	के
नागवेलो पतासी	१	के	सिकालू पतासी	१	के
पंचरंगो मुटुचु अ	१	के	मलेगो अ	१	के
लिटू अ	१	के	कटुका अ	१	के
हयाउका टिका मलेगो	१	के	पुंदुइका अ	१	के
द्रपो पतासी	१	के	सिकादो अ	१	के
दोपतासी	१	के	थागो मुटुचु अ	१	के
फायागु मुटुचु अ	१	के	हयाउका टिका मुटुचु	१	के
कक्षाच्या लिह्था	१	के	दर्का थान	१	के
नामजा	१	के	भागाको नामजा	१	के
पंचरंगो धागो पाव	१	के	राढी थान	३	के
भुजा पत्र	१	के	प्याङ पाथी	१	के
पिचा	२	के	वैठक मयाका ढकी	१	के
पुजाको कडाली	१	के	जाड फिकन्या व	१	के
फुर्तु	१	के	ढकिया	१	के
जाल	१	के	कुद सेर	१	के
पद्मचाल सेर	१	के	हरिताल		के
निर्मली सेर	१	के	भोट्यानुन पाव	३	के
हरौ सेर	१	के	कुदकि पाव	१	के
काचो लाहा पाव	३	के	अलैची पाव	३।।	के
वरौ सेर	१	के	सनामकै सेर	१	के
जटामसि सेर	१	के	अतिरस सेर	१	के
धनिजा सेर	१	के	कालो सिलाजीत पाव	३।।	के
साल धुप सेर	१	के	च्यूरिको ध्यु सेर	१	के
चिराइटो सेर	१।।	के	देवदारु पाव	१	के
सुन पाति		के	माजुं फल सेर	१	के
पानि नुन पाव	१।।	के	सेतो सिलाजीत पाव	३।।	के

सोफ सेर	२ के	गेरू पाव	१ के
जवाणार पाव	११ के	अवरण पाव	१ के
स्वांग पाव	१ के	काचो सिग्रोफ	के
दालचिनो	के	सोम णार पाव	१ के
दरवर	१ के	णच तल्या प्याङ	१ के
मजिटो पाव	११३१ के	प्युरि णव	१ के
मैसोको फुकन्या सिङ	१ के	टाढ	१ के

कौसि वाट

मकुंदा	१३ के		
गणेशको	१ के	वाराहिको	१ के
महाकालीको	१ के	इन्द्रायणीको	१ के
कौमारिको	१ के	वृम्हायणीको	१ के
नारायणीको	१ के	महालक्ष्मीको	१ के
मैरवको	१ के	वैस्वीको	१ के
सिध्नीको	१ के	व्यांघिनीको	१ के
रक्षासको	१ के		

मिमिआको पोका	१ के	सिसा सेर	१ के
अग्राणको कठ पाउं	१ के	मोह्वदाम माना	२ के
तोकाको पैसा	१ के S I	तावाको अधेला	१ के S २
हें दाम	१ के १	हें ध्याक	१ के S I I
रूपामणिको पोका	१ के	जस्दा	के
कस्तुरि दाना	२ के	जिम्बुमाना	के
दाणपाव	के		

कडेलचोक कपदारि वाट

तावाका सिं भुको नकसा	१ के		
सुना चादिका गहना थान	६ के		
चादिका णीप भयाको बीज	१	सुनको नत्थ	१
चैपटया सुन जोर	१	सुनको बुलाकि	१
चादिका ढोका जोर	१	टुकिचा जोर	१
		चादिका मोहनमाला	१
		चादिका पहिरा जोर	१
		चादिका जंत्र	१

गौर्णालि टोपि	२	के	वाहा काटया दोवरि चोला	२	के
कोपाको फरिया	१	के	हिदको फरिया	१	के
हरिया पटुका	२	के	लाल पक्यौरा	२	के
बडदार तकुवा चोला	१	के	स्क सरो जामा	१	के
दोवरि जामा	१	के	पेट्या भोटो	१	के
स्कसरो चौवन्दी	१	के	दोवरि चौवन्दी	१	के
दोवरि कंडिवाल सुब्बाल	१	के	कंडिवाल सुब्बाल	१	के
ज्यापुको कैटा	१	के	मुलायको सुब्बाल	१	के
मनपा को पाणि	२	के	काठको वट्टा	१	के
धादिंको कालो माटो	१	के	फर्पिडको सपेत माटो	१	के
भाडा रंगाउन्या माटो	१	के	पहेलो माटो	१	के
भादगाउको कौसि पंचा माटो	१	के	भाडा पान्या कालो माटो	१	के
ठेमिको सेतो माटो	१	के	हाउनीको कैलो माटो	१	के
मह	१	के	धुंज्या विंज्या गन्या वासको लिंगो	१	के
फापन	१	के	गजरा सुकुल	१	के
सुकुल	१	के	कलस	१	के
षान्या मेन	१	के	कलावतु लाग्याको रातो धागो	१	के
खोरा	१	के	गंधक	१	के

इटाचपलिका कुम्हाल नाइक्या वाट					
रकिस पान्या भाडा दुवली स्मेत	२	के	चुल्हो	१	के
दुइ मुष्या चुल्हो	१	के	अटल	१	के
पानस	१	के	हाडी	१	के
मिलाचा	१	के	आरि	१	के
ढकनीवाल स्मेत चिलिम	३	के	दलू	१	के
मकल	१	के	घालाचा	१	के
बैला थल	१	के	स्वमा	१	के
चुंग्या	१	के	कोचाणि	१	के

कप्तान सुजान सिंह वस्न्यात वाट					
फयाकि	१	के	देलि	१	के
चालनि	१	के	नाला	१	के
डालो	१	के	सोली	१	के
सिष्टं	१	के	रूपनि	१	के

सर्दार डिल्लि सिं वस्न्यात वाट _____

बांसको धान _____	के	पिडा _____	१ के
ठेक्का धान _____	१ के	फाम _____	१ के

भण्डा कोत वडा कप्तान् सनकसिं णत्री वाट _____

चादिको चाद _____			१० के
रेफनको मोलमालाग्याको _____	१ के	लेटर राजदलको _____	१ के
थो नाथ महिन्द्र दलको _____	१ के	वर्दवानि जगदल सिंहनाथको _____	१ के
नया गौरण भैरवनाथको _____	१ के	सम्सेर दल काली प्रसादको _____	१ के
रण प्रिय दलको _____	१ के	सर्व धोजको _____	१ के
देवोदत कालीवक्स पु.गौरणको _____	१ के	गणेशदल रामदलको _____	१ के

चादिको तोडा _____	१ के	वनाथको कुर्थि _____	१ के
वनाथको कुर्था _____			२ के
रेस्मीको जठालो लाग्याको _____	१ के	रुइदार कालो _____	१ के

वनाथको चुस्ता _____	१ के	पंजापि सुब्बाल _____	१ के
पितल्या क्वापा स्मेतको तोप _____	१ के	लोता स्मेतको तोस्दान _____	१ के
इलवद चप्रा स्मेतको कमर पेटि _____	१ के	चप्रा स्मेतको लोता _____	१ के

अमोर मुन्सो लक्ष्मी दास मार्फत टकसार वाट _____

समुर णालका टुक्रा _____	१ के	चुवाणालका टुक्रा _____	१ के
रुव्याउफी णालका टुक्रा _____	१ के	णिचा णाल को टुक्रा _____	१ के
भुवाणालको टुक्रा _____	१ के	म्याउफि णालको टुक्रा _____	१ के
भोट्याको दोचा जोर _____	१ के	भुमानि तोला _____	११ के
रंगरंगका कोचीन णगाम _____			१६।।के
कालो वङ्गजी णगाम _____	२ के	रंगरंगका माफ गज्या णगाम _____	११।।के
णति फाड वाल णगाम _____	४ के	सानु गज्या णगाम _____	२ के

तुल्सीरंग सिलिं मलेदा थान _____			१ के
चिनीआ टोपि _____			२ के
सास्यो _____	१ के	चिनीआ टोपी _____	१ के

तमाकु णान्या कंसा	१ के	४ णट्या पाणि	१ के
धक्या केरा	१ के	धाकपा	१ के
लिहु	१ के	बुकि सुन मासा	५ के
मुनका दाण धानि	S/=के	काला मुनका दाण धानि	S /=के
वैदाना दाण धानि	१ के	चिनिया कौहरा धानि	१ के
मोट्या वर धानि	SI II के	हलुवा वेद धानि	S १ के
मोट्या मोथ्या धानि	SI I के	मोट्या वणर गोटा	२५ के
चिनिया च्या धानि	SI के	चियामा हालन्या मोठो धानि	S के
निणरा कस्तुरी तोला	२ के	कस्तुरी विना २ के तोला	६।२। के
सिगरीफ पुरिया	१ के	चिनिया मसिसेला २ के तोला	१ के
विणमा तोला	२ के	निर्वसि तोला	१ के
काचो सिग्रीफ तोला	१ के	माफा चवर गोटा	२ के
		कालो १ के सेतो १ के	

त्रुं वु रंग रंगका थान	५ के	मुलाय धान १ के फर्द	२ के
तोस फर्द	४ के		
पेचिन फर्द २ के सिलि फर्द २ के			

कलेजि रंग पेचिन मलेदा थान	१ के	धक्या चौरि पटु	१ के
मोट्या धुप मुठा	५ के		

सुवा धन सुंघर मार्फत णानि गैह्र वाट			
फलामको धाउ	१ के	तावाको धाउ	१ के
सिसाको धाउ	१ के	णकुंडा	१ के
डाहु पन्या	२ के	चिराक कुपि	२ के
चिलिम चिफिकदानी	१ के	संध्या वाटा	१ के
वटुको	१ के	नेवाज्या फारि	१ के
ठाडो लोहरा	१ के	नेवाज्या घ	१ के
नेवाज्या क्वट	१ के	थाल	१ के
पुजा राणन्या थाल	१ के	कराहि	१ के
तापक्या	१ के	कोपरा	१ के
फिकदानी	१ के	गागि	१ के
कडालि	१ के	वाटा १ वाडा वाटा १ ज्मा	२ के

ठकुपिचा १ लंपिचा १ ज्मा पिचा —	२ के	फांपाथि १ चुल्या पाथी १ ज्मा पाथी २ के	
कुल्वा-१ पक्कि-१ आधा टुकनीको-१	१	चाँथाइ-१ ज्मा त्वाक	४ के
णुपिया	१ के	लोहरा	१ के
काप्रि	१ के	नैवाच्या फारि	१ के
नैवाच्या पिंढ वाटा	१ के	कमलफारी	१ के
भोट्या म्यागा	१ के	घडि राणन्या वाटा	१ के
फोसि	१ के	तापक्या	१ के
णुकुंडा	१ के	पन्यु	१ के
रकसी पान्या वाटा	१ के	णासि	१ के
नैवाच्या काहा वाजा	१ के	नैवाच्या पोगा	१ के
नर्सिगा	१ के	विजुली	१ के
पंचपात्र आचमनी जोर	१ के	कान्यागुजि फिकन्या	१ के
आरति			३ के
मूर्ति भयाको-५ मुष्या-१ के — ३ मुष्या	१ के	१ मुष्या — १ के	
तीन सुप्या पानस	१ के	पानस	२ के
मकुंदा	१ के	सुकुंदा	१ के
कसौडी	१ के	को णोला-१ चिक णोला-१ ज्मा	२ के
णप्पर पात्र	१ के	कटौरा	२ के
चन्दन णौरि	२ के	वलिपात्र	१ के
दिवा	१ के	नैवद्य पात्र	१ के
सुट्यमुष्णी	१ के	कंसा	१ के
माना-१ आधा माना-१ चणुंकिमाना-१		चाचणुमाना १ ज्मा थान	४ के
सुरहि	१ के	दोल हुक्का	१ के
कल्लि हुक्का	१ के	सुकुंदा	१ के
आमणौरा	१ के	लोहटा	१ के
घुंटा	२ के		
मूर्ति भयाको ठुलो-१ के सानु-१ के			

जाड राणन्या थां पिचा	१ के	तेल राणन्या थ्याका	१ के
वेला	१ के	तौ णोला	१ के
सिन्हू	१ के	भिंला ताहापो	१ के
कल्वा	१ के	फारि	१ के
फिकदानि	१ के	घालाचा	१ के

तुंवि आपणोरा	१ के	दहि जमाउन्या पतीचा	१ के
कैपि	१ के	तिंगु वजाउन्या	१ के
वजाउन्या प्वालिमली	१ के	तिंगोला	१ के
मस्यानि	१ के	चुन राणन्या भाडा	१ के
मार्फा वजाउन्या	१ के	तसाला	१ के
सिफला भु	१ के	काचो तावो	१ के
वेतको पेटारो	१ के		

कप्तान उजोर सेन मार्फत जंगि मेगजोनवाट जगा जगाको नकसा वनायाको			
तलेज्यूका देवलको	१ के	मादगाउ ५ तल्या देवलको	१ के
महिन्द्रनाथका रथको	१ के	कुमारीका रथको	१ के
जगनाथका देवलको	१ के	बुढानीलकण्ठको	१ के
वंनदेश्वरको	१ के	रानिपोषरको	१ के
सुंधाराको	१ के	नेपालि घरको	१ के
डोटिका फोलंगाको	१ के	वेत्रातिका तुङ्को	१ के
त्रिशुल गंगाका पुलको	१ के	विस्नुमति पुलको	१ के
वाग्मती पुलको	१ के	दुंगाको	१ के
वहनाको	१ के	फक्या सागुको	१ के
इनारको	१ के	फिगटि पान्या साचो	१ के
इट पान्या साचा	१ के	चिहुरा कुटन्या स्वराजाम	
		वणल १ लुसो २ कुसाकुटो	१ के

भुलं	२ के	चकरो	२ के
धान कुटन्या ढीकी	१ के		
कपडा बुन्या सराजाम			
धागो काटन्या सुइरो	१ के	ह्यसा	१ के
रू	१ के	हाधा	१ के
कोकाटू	१ के	कपास फर्कन्या धनु	१ के
कोकापौ	१ के		

काठको जांतो	१ के	णुइ	१ के
नेपाल्या उणु पेलन्या	१ के	नेपाल्या तेल पेलन्या	१ के
घट्ट	१ के	कुम्हालको भाडा पान्या चको	१ के

पर्वत्या तेल पेलन्या कौल	१ के	पर्वत्या उष्ण पेलन्या	१ के
हलो	१ के	लिङ्को	१ के
ठेकि मेधानो	१ के	फाम्	१ के
मुसा मान्या			
कठ विराली	१ के	गोद्राक	१ के
षोर	१ के	चक्रि	१ के

घोदलि	१ के	धनु	२ के
गुल्यालि	२ के	काठ स्मेत ठोक्रा	४ के
लोह्रो	२ के	डादे	१ के
भोल्तो	२ के	लाल जावि	१ के
कठ पाउ जोर	१ के		

सिकर्मिहल्का काम गन्या हतियार			
काठ कुन्ह्या चर्णि	१ के	रंदा	१ के
साधनी	१ के	चिंकठी	१ के
मुगो	१ के	उल्याटो	१ के
नापन्या कालो धागो	१ के	चिन्हु राणन्या	१ के
डयांफला	१ के	काठ कुन्ह्या आर	१ के
हस्तिहाड रेटन्या रेट	१ के	बुट्टा काटन्या रामो	१ के
वद्राम	१ के	वतसि रामो	१ के
रामो	४ के		

वज्रकर्मिको वज्र ठोकन्या मुर्गल	१ के	लिउन लाउन्या	१ के
रोटि पठान्या पेलनि	१ के	गीङ्	१ के
मकुडो	२ के	मुरली	६ के
हाला सर्वांगि गोटा			
चितुवाको	१ के	वडको	१ के
ठारको	१ के	लगुनाको	१ के
		सालको	१ के

जात जातका सिङ् गोटा			
लगुनाको	४ के	चितलको	२ के
रात्या मृगको	१ के	घोडल्को	२ के
नाउरको	१ के	जरायाको	१ के

धारको	१ के	वरातको	१ के
सा किंको भाडी	१ के	वासको मुचुंगा	१२ के
नेपाली पत्थरको गोल	१ के	हाला वोड्र धरायाको पात	१ के
लिप्पापाट	१ के	पुवा पात	१ के
अल्लो पात	१ के	माङ्गिनी	१ के
खड्गको लौट्रो मुठा	१ के	घड्यालका लौट्रो मुठा	१ के
नेपाल्या घुम	१ के	वोर्सि	१ के
भेरि	१ के	कर्नालि	१ के
नाला	१ के	लिहि	१ के
नेवाऱ्या चुल्यासि	३ के	तालवा	१ के
भोट्या तालवा	१ के	कोदाली	२ के
पर्वत्या चुल्यासि	५ के	सरौटा	१ के
वसिला	१ के	फागि फिकन्या काटा	१ के
छुरा	१ के	चिमटा	२ के
वाडाको चिमटा	१ के	तावा पितल कोटन्या छिन्हा	१ के
फलाम काटन्या छिन्हा	१ के	रेट काटन्या छिन्हा	१ के
सुच्यां पन्या सनासो	१ के	तार फिकन्या सनासो	१ के
तावो पितल काटन्या कैचि	१ के	कसौडि फिकन्या सनासो	१ के
चक्रमक	१ के	भोट्या चक्रमक	१ के
सुन काटन्या कैची	२ के	मुचुंगा	१२ के
सानु रेट	६ के	टिणो कुटो	२ के
णुर्पि	२ के	नेवाऱ्या फालि	१ के
वसिला	२ के	कोदालो	३ के
कुटो	२ के	कोप्पा राभो	१३ के
नण चिमटा	२ के	पुलीक	१ के
हसिया	३ के	नेवाऱ्या कुटो	२ के
स्यांगी	११ के	णुर्पि	१ के
फसिला	३ के	कपडा काटन्या कैची	२ के
सुक्या आरौ	१ के	आरौ	४ के
चुनाराको वाक	३ के	वह्मा	१ के
दोलो रेट	३ के	णलापिको हुंगो	१ के
हुंगा काटन्या छिन्हा	४ के	तीन कुन्या रेट	२ के

घाज्या रेट _____	३ के	रेट _____	३ के
शुप्पा रोभो _____	१ के	शुर्पा _____	२ के
चार पाट्या - १ चैपट्या - १ ज्या रेट - २ के		म्यान स्मेतको शुडा _____	१ के
म्यान स्मेतको शुक्रुरि _____	१ के	संपोस _____	१ के
कोट्रिसो _____	१ के	चार मुष्या ठडौरो - १ ठडौर - १ ज्या - २ के	
लेजम _____	१ के	तावा - १ ताइ - १ ज्या थान _____	२ के
तापक्या _____	१ के	डोल _____	१ के
बुधान _____	१ के	कसौडी _____	१ के
लुठ्या _____	१ के	मैवान्या डाहु _____	१ के
षाति चुच्या कुंजा _____	१ के	पर्वत्या मफारि डाहु १ सानु १ चुस्मा २	
		ज्या _____	४ के
वारा पकाउन्या द्वाल _____	१ के	फाफर _____	१ के
षंति _____	१ के	मासु पोलन्या फीर _____	१ के
कौदाली _____	१ के	स्वावल _____	१ के
तमोटको चार पाट्या होत्रो _____	५ के	गल _____	१ के
ठुलो छिन्हा _____	२ के	चादघा _____	१ के
कौदालो _____	३ के	घाडो _____	२ के
तमोट णरियो _____	२ के	काचो फलाम _____	१ के
थाममा ठोकन्या ठडौरो _____	१ के	णन् _____	१ के
चुच्या _____	१ के	मुस्याल _____	१ के
वंचरो _____	२ के	णोल काटन्या रेट _____	१ के
नामगिरि रेट _____	१ के	कट रेट _____	१ के
दाउज्या चुपि _____	१ के	हसि ध्या चुपि _____	१ के
पर्वत्या फाली _____	१ के	मैसाज स्मेत लाग्याको जन्ति _____	१ के
कहर्नि _____	१ के	दोलो होत्रो ठुलो _____	१ के
जात जातका वुटा काटन्या सानु छिन्हा - ६ के		सुनारको मैया _____	४ के
तमोटको होत्रो _____	५ के	वाजको घुगुरा _____	१ के
णोप्पाको घुगुरा _____	१ के	वरातमा दाम लाउन्या ताप _____	१ के
तमोटको २ चुच्या होत्रो _____	१ के	चिमटा _____	२ के
लोह कर्मिको चक्रिवाल _____	१ के	उल्यानी चकमक _____	१ के
रावो _____	३ के	आसि _____	१ के
सार्कि वाक _____	२ के	शुर्पि _____	१ के
इट काटन्या चुपी _____	१ के	हुंगा काटन्या छिन्हा _____	४ के

तवोटको सनासो	१	के	नकर्मिको छिना	७	के
नेपाली पुराना मस्याल	१	के	पर्वत्या फालि	१	के
फर्सा	१	के	कसालका शाल कुन्या लिही	२	के
तवोटको षालु	२	के	फेरीर	१	के
कट्टौती	१	के	भोट्या डादु	१	के
कुंजा	४	के	षाप सियो	४	के
चार पाट्या पुलिक	१	के	कुलुको वाक	१	के
स्या चुपी	१	के	वल्म सिरा षुरा स्मेत	१	के
सार्कि मुगचा	१	के	वाडाको गहना कुन्याउन्या निषी	१	के
वाडाको गहना कुन्याउन्या कृष्णकुन्या	१	के	अ को होत्रो	१	के
संदुस स्मेतको वन्दुक	१	के	पंचरंगी गुड्री	१	के
चिउरिको फुल	१	के	घडीरातको १ दिनको १ ज्मा	२	के
ढक ज्मा				५	के
घार्निको	१	के	विसौलिको	१	के
सैरको १ के ३ पावुको	१	के	१ पावुको	१	के
फलामको तुली	१	के	काठको आगो फुकन्या षलाति क्वाला स्मेतको	१	के
काठको तुली	१	के	हस्ति हाडको सन्दुस	१	के
वाजा				२	के
भूयालि जोर	१	के	कोष्या सारंगी	१	के
क्वालाको जुत्ता				५	के
जनाना जोर	१	के	मदर्ना जोर	१	के
वाहुनले लाउन्या	१	के	लारा जोर	२	के
घोडाको साज				३	के
मुहुडा १ के दुमचि १ के	१	के	नाहारि १ के		
काठको घररा	१	के	वैतको षाट	१	के
सहने	१	के	थापा थलिका हावा षान्या वुर्जा मयाको घर	१	के
गोल वारिमको लट्ठी	१	के	प्रधानीमा राखन्या फलामको काप्पा	२	के

मोल्याको पाट _____	१	के	कर्नाल _____	१	के
नगरा वजाउन्‍या स्मेत _____	१	के	ट्यामकया वजाउन्‍या स्मेत _____	१	के
वाल्द राणन्‍या कार्कोपि वाल चुंकी- _____	१				
डिठ्ठा किर्तिमानपिं राज भडारि मार्फत हेमडेल वाट _____					
हुंगाको देवदेवताको मुर्ति _____			५३ के		
गणेशको _____	२	के	किर्तिमुष्ण भैरवको _____	१	के
ब्रम्हाको _____	२	के	महादेवको _____	२	के
विस्नुदेवीको _____	१	के	मत्सेको _____	१	के
कद्दीको _____	१	के	वराहको _____	२	के
नृसिंह _____	१	के	वामण _____	१	के
पशुराम _____	१	के	राम _____	१	के
वलराम _____	१	के	बौद्ध _____	१	के
कलंकी _____	१	के	राधाकृष्णको _____	१	के
चन्द्र _____	१	के	सूर्य _____	१	के
उमामहेश्वर _____	१	के	इन्द्र _____	१	के
कौमारि _____	२	के	भोमसेन _____	२	के
अर्जुन _____	१	के	सहदेव _____	१	के
नारायण _____	१	के	हनुमान _____	१	के
इन्द्रायणी _____	१	के	ब्रम्हायणी _____	१	के
रुद्रायणी _____	१	के	महालक्ष्मी _____	१	के
भगवती _____	१	के	काली _____	१	के
कुमारि _____	१	के	मजेश्वरि _____	१	के
दक्षिणकाली _____	१	के	बलभद्रजी _____	१	के
भैरव _____	१	के	कुमार _____	१	के
महाकाल _____	१	के	वस्याका गणेश _____	१	के
सिधिनी _____	१	के	व्यांधिनी _____	१	के
गरुड _____	१	के	कवंच _____	१	के
प्याक _____	१	के	गौरि _____	२	के
हुंदो विउ काठको _____	१	के	चिउरा कुटन्‍या वणल काठको _____	१	के
लुसि काठको _____	१	के			

काठको माल

कुसाकुटि	१	के	भुरं	१	के
चकरो	१	के	ढोको	१	के
लुगा धुन्या मुगे	१	के	कपडा बुन्या सराजाम	१	के
कोकापी	१	के	रें हंदी	१	के
अैटो	१	के	षुई	१	के
नेपाल्या उषु पेलन्या	१	के	ने, तेल पेलन्या	१	के
पर्वत्या अै	१	के	पर्वत्या अै	१	के
मुंग्रो	१	के	उल्याठी	१	के
डाडु	१	के	चटं	१	के
करताल	१	के	जातो	१	के
चनौटी हुंगा	४	के	सिलौटी हुंगा	१	के
षल रें	२	के	व्यां दल रें	१	के
डाडी काठ	१	के	सेतो षल ऐ	१	के
पर धानी ऐ	२	के	मादल काठको	१	के
ढिमेवाजा ऐ	१	के	ध्यांग्रो ऐ	१	के
दुफला ऐ	१	के	कोष्या सारंगी ऐ	१	के
भोट्या दुगुना	१	के	चैजरी	१	के
डिवडिव्या	१	के	चर्पा	१	के

सरको

कुलुकठी	१	के	अंगुकठी	२	के
क्वेथकु	१	के	फि की	१	के
त्वाकल स्मेतको फि कि	१	के			

हस्तिहाडको

काग्यो	५	के	बुदिसार	१	के
त्रिपासा	१	के	गाताजोर	१	के

चौयाको

चालनी	१	के	नागलो	१	के
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डाली	१	के	सोली	१	के
षर्पन	१	के	माद्रो	१	के
डोका	१	के	सुतानी	१	के
षोटो	१	के	जात जातको ढुंगा	५	के
षगौतो गंगा जमुना	१	के			

चिसापानीवाट षयेरको काठ				१	के
नगदले षरोद मै गयाको					
ह्वाजरो	१	के	मुलाको व्यु	१	के
कटुज		के	कुमकुम		के
चिरौ		के	लप्सी		के
रिठा		के	टिंमुर		के
कोइराला		के	लसुन		के
मन्सिना		के	अरेडको गेडा		के
क्यापि		के	पत्थर मिमिआ		के
सेतो मणिया		के	तापन्ये		के
सेतो रातो आलु		के	अदुवा		के
वषर		के	ठुलो पाग्रा		के
आरुको बिया		के	अमिली		के
सिनकाउलीको बोक्रो		के			

डाटि मार्फत हिटीचोक वाट					
फाफर माना	२	के	कोदो माना	२	के
सेतो भटमास माना	२	के	गुरास माना	२	के
कैलो अै माना	२	के	गहत माना	१	के
कालो अै माना	२	के	मुरली मकै माना	१	के
केराउ		के	मेथी		के
मस्यां		के	बोक्रो स्मेत सिमी		के
चौसुरको व्यु		के	तोरि		के
पाक्काइको व्यु		के	काक्रोको व्यु		के
भोट्या केराउ		के	लावा भुटन्या धान		के
मास	१	के	तित्या काक्रा	१	के
रायो		के	सेतो रातो बोडी		के
काचो हलेदो वेसार		के	कागनु		के

काली लट्ट्या _____	के	सैती लट्ट्या _____	के
तौरी _____	के	जुध्या धान _____	के
सामा _____	के	षुसानी माना _____	२ के
मकैको चावल माना _____	३ के	तेल कल्ला _____	१ के
सरस्यु _____	के	सिनको _____	के
पिना _____	के		

श्री कम्यांडर जनरल साहेब वाट _____

लोहामसी _____	१ के	दामोदर कुंदमा हुन्या खोडमुष्या मदि- १ के	
मांड्या ताउ कागज ताउ _____	के	नाउरको स्वर्ग _____	१ के
मृगको हल्ला _____	१ के	काचोपि कामको चार णाना टीपी- १ के	
णपतरि नलो _____	१ के	गंधको घाउ _____	१ के

कपदार भक्तवीर कुवर राणाजी मार्फत कोट भडार वाट _____

चावल जात जात को _____

राज भोग _____	के	धैया _____	के
मोडुंगी _____	के	षाटातौली _____	के
चरिनन्या _____	के	तिलकचन _____	के
सुना णरि _____	के	इन्द्रवेली _____	के
अनदि _____	के	हकुवा _____	के
तौली _____	के	गौरिया _____	के
दुदराज _____	के	स्यामजिरा _____	के
मारि _____	के	आंधा _____	के
जिरासरि _____	के	फिनुवा _____	के
मन्सरा _____	के		

फाब्रि केरा _____	के	केराको घरि _____	१ के
भोट्या आरु _____	के	गुलाफ जामुना दाना _____	६ के
वेल _____	१ के		

रा निपो णरि मेगजीन वाट _____

काफलको वोक्रा _____	१ के	सपेति काठको वोक्रा _____	१ के
हराको वोक्रा वोर हालन्या _____	१ के		

कप्तान सताराम णत्री मार्फत महुरीको चाका	१	के
ढोठा अवीर णडका मार्फत वारूद	१	के
प्रोहीत तीर्थ-राज मंडीत ज्यू मार्फत चणत्रको अरण		के
ठानावाट		
अफीम	के	गाजा
कौत्या वानासुर थापा मार्फत		
मातातीर्थको ढुंगो	१	के
दुसाल धन्सार वाट		
घुयात्री	५	के
नालु	के	
टोणाली चाकु धानी	२	के
नालुको जुत्ता	१	के

लेफटेन दलजीत विष्ट मार्फत		
गोदावरिको ढुंगो	१	के
वोक्या टिमुर	के	
सिल टिमुर	के	
रुद्रादा	के	
सुफलाको पाट	१	के
भक्यामिलो	१	के
मयेन काढा		के
सोता	१	के

बुटी

भौली	के	फयाउ	के
वासक	के	तेजपात	के
नागवैली	के	कुश	के
वल्ल्याङ्गाको लहरा	१	के	च्युरि
भ्याकुरो	१	के	नेवारी
गुडेरनाथा	१	के	चिराह्वो
नीम	१	के	फ्याकस्या
कुटन्या निगुरो	१	के	टीमुर
निगालो	१	के	कुरिलो
भाला	१	के	हराँ
कालो अस्यालु	१	के	वेतलीछी
मैन फल	१	के	मुस्या अर्सल
कुकुर तसल	१	के	जिरेनिहुरो
गिठो	१	के	वाको

गोल कांड़ी	१	कै	मुसली कंद	१	कै
चापो	१	कै	टुसा	१	कै
तावा	१	कै	पांग्रा	१	कै
टटेलो टाटा स्मेत	१	कै	कोसा स्मेतको पांग्रा	१	कै
मगर काची	१	कै	सरो	१	कै
वांस	१	कै	भक्या मौलो	१	कै
ठोटुत्या	१	कै	गोप्या	१	कै
पानि अमला	१	कै	टटोल	१	कै
पर्वत्या रक्तचन्दन	१	कै	रुद्राक्षको हागा वोडा स्मेत	१	कै
वल्हयांग्राको गेडा	१	कै	पाविनिहुरो	१	कै
डडेनिहुरो	१	कै	सिंगा-या निहुरो	१	कै
वोफो	१	कै	जलको	१	कै
सल्लो	१	कै	गुज्रागानु	१	कै
लप्सीका विरूवा	१	कै	पेटारिका फुल वोट स्मेत	१	कै
चुत्रीको काठ	१	कै	पञुं	१	कै
णरिको काठ	१	कै	सिमल	१	कै
वधेर वोट	१	कै	इफको लहरो	१	कै
सुनपाती	१	कै	काली काठ	१	कै

विरूवा

लज्यावतीको	१	कै	अणालोको	१	कै
टुठुका	१	कै	णरिका	१	कै
गल्यानी	१	कै	अस्यालु	१	कै
चुक्रो	१	कै	बडविही	१	कै
विही	१	कै	अनार	१	कै
चणत्र	१	कै	कालिज्यामीर	१	कै
कीप	१	कै	आरु	१	कै
लक्ष्मी	१	कै	मेहल	१	कै
सुतला	१	कै	कमला	१	कै
चकसी	१	कै	काफल	१	कै
णजुर	१	कै	सल्ला	१	कै
कुरिलो	१	कै	ध्युकुमारि	१	कै
स्याउ	१	कै	सेत वरूवा	१	कै

फुलको विहवा

पितृ _____	१ के	गौलसोजन _____	१ के
सुकुंडाज _____	१ के	काग्रेवाल _____	१ के
हिदकिनी _____	१ के	भुंगराज _____	१ के
मणमली _____	१ के		

पालपाली कोत्या मार्फत _____
 रंगरंगका चिनीया फुल दहेला फुल - १ के सुनकाहुली _____ १ के

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The State and Economic Surplus: Production, Trade and Resource Mobilization in Early 19th Century Nepal. 1984. Mahesh C. Regmi. 240 pages. Nath Publishing House, Varanasi. Price Rs. 125.

I

Mahesh C. Regmi's *The State and Economic Surplus: Production, Trade and Resource Mobilization in Early 19th Century Nepal* (henceforth *State and Surplus*) tries to elaborate on the economic role of the Nepali state during the early 19th century, i.e. around the period of the East India Company-Nepal War. Because *State and Surplus* shies away from a synoptic interpretation because the book is so rich in information, it is difficult to summarize the book faithfully. At the risk of losing out on the implications of the wealth of information--and with the help of the retrospective last chapter--the different strands of the book may be brought together as follows. The Gorkhali state because achieved unification "under the leadership of a political elite which used its political authority as a means to attain economic power" (p.9), and its early expansionist/militarist practice--used to meet both internal and external exigencies (p.7)--gave birth to a "command economy superimposed on the customary economy of their predecessors" (p. 212). Since the "ownership of the natural resources (mainly agricultural land, forest and mines) was an essential attribute of the sovereign authority of the state" (pp. 17-18), the state was the prime mover of the material forces of the society and, as such, of social organization as well--within the limitations imposed by history, geography and British India. Limited private ownership was also a reality because "the Gorkhali rulers did not achieve political unification solely through military conquest...political compromises with various communal groups and rulers of various principalities were (often) considered more expedient" (p. 18). *Kipat* and *rajya* systems of ownership and control may be regarded as the prime examples of such a compromise. Furthermore, "in order to sustain their monopoly of political power through which they exploited the national resources for their own benefit, the rulers of Nepal, whether Shah, Thapa or Rana, had perforce to share such benefits with the aristocracy and the bureaucracy." (p. 19). The *birtā*, *jāgir* and *guthī* systems of ownership and control provide ample evidences of such a sharing. The policy of the state was essentially extractive and thus inimical to the interests of the producers and traders (pp. 9-10). The state rarely, if ever, made efforts to increase production or to improve the conditions of the producer. As such, the early 19th century was "singularly unproductive from the viewpoint of policies and programs aimed at the nation's economic integration" (p.x). The economy remained stagnant and segmented.

There were three major categories of assets owned wholly or partially by the state: agricultural land, forest and mines. The state sector in production and trade was large operated directly by the state of through (private) individuals. Forest was operated directly by the state while agricultural land and mines were dually operated: "Whereas the natural resources used as means of production were owned by the state, the actual function of production was in the hands of (private) individuals

who undertook the costs and risks and hence may be described as independent producers" (p. 21). The state extracted surplus from both of these sectors. However, while surplus was also extracted by para-state bodies and persons, *State and Surplus* delimits itself to direct exaction only--which, in turn, is defined as the procurement of money or commodities directly by the state to meet its needs. Furthermore, while surplus ("taxes", p. 24) may be extracted on the basis of production or consumption, *State and Surplus* focusses only on the former variant.

How did the state extract surplus? The first strategy, of course, was the operation of the state sector. The second strategy was to extract surplus from private production and trade by what Regmi calls transfer and exchange. Regmi defines transfer as a one-way transaction under which, in this case, the state raised surplus through taxation and levy of personal obligation on the part of the subjects (pp. 25-26). Taxation on agricultural land, handicrafts, manufactures, and minerals and on commerce brought in considerable amounts of surplus. *Jhara* and *rakam*, obligatory unpaid labour services used in munition factories and stores, transportation of mail, construction of forts, bridges, irrigation canals, reclamation of waste land, capture of wild elephants, fuelwood, charcoal and fuel supplies (pp. 163-64) were the other forms of exaction of surplus by the state through the mechanism of transfer.

Finally, surplus was exacted through the mechanism of exchange--which Regmi defines as a transaction between the state and the producers and traders--in three major ways, i.e., procurement of commodities, principally military supplies, on less-than-market prices or altogether monopolistic terms, revenue monopolies (e.g. land tax) and state trading in specific, lucrative markets. Both transfer and exchange surpluses were raised through a variety of administrative means, including the use of government officials and revenue contractors (*ijaradars*).

II

As Regmi himself notes (p. vii), the thematic background to the present work can be traced back to his researches for his previous books (i.e., *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, *A Study in Nepali Economic History*, *Landownership in Nepal*, *Readings in Nepali Economic History*, and *Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces: Peasants and Landlords in 19th Century Nepal*). However, while readers who are not acquainted with these books--and those by Stiller (*The Rise of the House of Gorkha* and *The Silent Cry*)--shall learn a great deal on the economic history of 19th century Nepal through a perusal of this book, to old-time readers of Regmi, *State and Surplus* appears as a minor extension of Regmi's own earlier efforts except for the fact the state here receives a more detailed treatment and becomes the main actor, the grammatical subject. Less than illuminating conceptualization, frequent disclaimers and attainment which falls considerably short of promise provide a distinct sense of an anti-climax--not the least because it comes from the master of the "land question" in Nepal.

Regmi starts out by claiming that the job of the historian is to link up the present with the past (p. xii). A failure to establish this

link, Regmi notes, will result not only in a "collective amnesia" but presumably also in a potentially misguided course of national and subnational, i.e., familial, personal, journey. *State and Surplus*, nonetheless, not only fails to establish the linkage but is also non-committal on what is it in the present that is being linked with the past. In other words, Regmi's problematic remains unclear throughout the book. Is Regmi's "present" related to Nepal's economic development or economic growth? Or, is it development in general? Or, maybe the role of the state in economic growth/development? Because Regmi's "present" remains unanchored, unconcretized, the exposition of the past remains unfocussed and fails to cover new grounds. That is, because Regmi shirks to categorize and describe the political economy of presentday Nepal (an old predilection of Regmi's) his accounts (of the history of the uncategorized) political economy tend to be encyclopaedic rather than precise. This is the central problem of *State and Surplus*. Most other weaknesses follow from it.

Regmi's long-standing concern with the state, the subject also of *State and Surplus*, while innovative in Nepali historiography, has become theoretically near-sterile. He appears to award an almost total autonomy to the state, e.g., "state landlordism", "state and surplus". Now this has been a live issue in the international Marxist literature ever since the mid-1960s, and powerful arguments have been put forward to support the notion of the "relative autonomy of the state" in industrial, primarily developed capitalist, economies. Regardless of its validity in such societies, its "applicability" for an underdeveloped state like Nepal is something which needs to be explored. In any case, it should not be looked upon as a general, universal rule. Regmi's strategy, on the other hand, becomes theoretically rather sterile because it tends to hypostatize (i.e., give unwarranted independence to) the state. An alternative strategy would be to look at the Nepali state as a crucible of a) internal class interests and b) regional and global capitalist and other interests. The state *per se* may thus be a less deserving unit of study than the class composition of it, including, possibly, the "state class". This may also hold the key to an understanding of the history of Nepal's underdevelopment in the past as also of the developmental policies being pursued by the Nepali state at present.

The above two weaknesses, in turn, go to explain Regmi's use of ahistorical frames and concepts. Regmi startles us, for example, with the statement that

Individuals engaged in the function of production and in the exchange of commodities so produced generate an economic surplus, a part of which is extracted by the state. The concept of economic surplus is derived from the nature of economic activities in general (p. 22, emphasis supplied).

Surplus, nonetheless, is not a universal historical category, nor is the uses to which it is put similar among tribute-paying, feudal and capitalist modes, on the one hand, and the core capitalist and peripheral

world areas, on the other. So also with Regmi's use of the concepts of "command economy", "customary economy", "agrarian bureaucracy", etc. What is "customary economy" but an undefined, yet unquestionably precapitalist, form? Nor is this merely a matter of terminology. To posit a "customary economy" not only imposes an unwarranted homogeneity on variant precapitalist forms (e.g. *birta* and *kipat* forms of landholding) but also tends to hide the essential process of the transition of Nepal from precapitalist forms to a highly peripheral capitalist form. The concept of "command economy" is also problematic--not the least because it is primarily a category reserved by some Western economists to refer to contemporary socialist, mainly Soviet, political economy. It is confusing and potentially misleading, therefore, for Regmi to use the same term to describe the political economy of Nepal in the early years of the 19th century. "Agrarian bureaucracy", again, not only evokes the image of imperial China but also denotes a highly centralized and efficient central state apparatus--features which were not characteristic of the early 19th century Nepal.

The theoretical utility of the fundamental distinction Regmi maintains between surplus exaction by the state through "exchange" and "transfer" also remains unclear. A categorization is useful to the extent that it allows the researcher to arrive at certain conclusions with regard to the research problematic. The categories of exchange and transfer, however, are not utilized as such in *State and Surplus*. Would Nepal's economic development have been served better by a state which relied more on exchange and less on transfer or *vice versa*? Because *State and Surplus* does not address itself to such questions, its fundamental categorization remains *ad hoc* and thus lacking in theoretical/historical depth. Regmi's categorization of state vs. private production--a potentially crucial distinction for a study of this theme--is similarly confusing (pp. 21-24).

Old-time readers of Regmi are also occasionally perplexed by his use of disclaimers and apparent equivocations at critical junctures. The following two are symptomatic:

"...the author has no desire to judge the rulers of early 19th century Nepal by their own standards nor, indeed, does he want to make any judgments. He is only looking at specific economic policies followed by them from the standpoint of the modern interest in economic development. That is to say, the author is looking at history with his own perceptions as a 20th-century scholar (p. ix).

"The desirability of territorial expansion through military means as the primary goal of the state is an issue that an economic historian is not competent to discuss. But the fact that war, or preparations for war lead to an unproductive use of economic resources is self-evident. An economic historian's task is to establish causative links rather than to pass judgments

on matters of extra-economic significance. We can, therefore, only point out that such a use of economic surplus drains off resources from economic activities connected with production and trade and is inimical to the process of economic growth. (p. 215).

How can one not judge and still provide account of the early 19th century on the basis of experience gained after the passing of the period? If an economic historian is professionally required to shut his mouth on the "desirability of territorial expansion through military means", what kind of a researcher is professionally equipped to write on such an area? Furthermore, how is "desirability of territorial expansion" of extra-economic significance? Indeed, it has been argued elsewhere by Regmi himself as well as by others that the Gorkhali military campaign for the expansion of the territory, particularly in the Tarai, was justified primarily on economic grounds. The 1814-16 War with the East India Company further underlined the economic basis of the territorial campaign. Finally, even if we let Regmi have a "value-free" economic history, he would probably have to agree that most warfares have contributed to economic growth.

Regmi, then, has met only a modest success with *State and Surplus*. The linking of the present with the past has been neglected. Categorizations have generally been *ad hoc*. The state has been given a life of its own, independent of the class composition of those who uphold it--and not merely 'the rulers, the aristocracy and the bureaucracy', but also those who lived a less exalted life but nevertheless contributed to the maintenance and change of the Nepali state.

Finally, it may be useful here to point out a few errors in *State and Surplus*. The schematic diagram on p. 26--the programmatic blueprint of the book--contains two of these. Tax was levied on production and trade and not on personal obligations. Similarly, it appears redundant to discuss state trading as a method of surplus exaction through the mechanism of exchange once the dichotomy of private/state production and trade has already been hypothesized independently of "exchange" and "transfer". Lastly, Regmi has a disconcerting habit of writing down "high man-land ratio" when in fact he means "high land/man ratio" or "low man/land ratio" (p. 103). This error is repeated a number of times in *State and Surplus* and is also found in *A Study in Nepali Economic History*.

III

State and Surplus, nonetheless, does bear the distinctive Regmi trademarks. It is fairly well-organized, beautifully detailed and rich with primary reference materials. The disjunction between the hills and the tarai, Indo-Nepal trade, manufacturing in Nepal and the impingement of the state on communities and households are well brought out. For Nepal-wallahs unexposed to Regmi, of course, the book should be a novel and fruitful experience.

- Chaitanya Mishra